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FBIS-SOV-88-175 CONTENTS 9 September 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Pershing Missiles Destroyed at Longhorn 1
First Cruise Missiles Removed From UK 1
  TV Reports on Withdrawal 1
Chervov Comments on Disarmament Prospects *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 2 Sep]* 2
Paper Views Development of SDI Lasers *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Sep]* 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

More on Perfilyev Foreign Ministry News Briefing 5
  Gulf Talks; Brazil; Burma 5
  Denies Sharing CW Technology 5
  UN Environment Chief To Visit 5
Petrovskiy Addresses UN Meeting on Body's Role *[PRAVDA 6 Sep]* 6
Current NATO 'Stormy' Maneuvers Questioned *[Zhukov in PRAVDA 7 Sep]* 6
Cypriot Foreign Minister on Nonaligned Aims *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* 7
Katushev Meets European Parliament President 7
Austria's Mock Interviewed on Vienna CSCE Talks *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* 8
Officials Discuss CEMA, EEC Relations 9
Prospects for EEC-CEMA Cooperation Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 6 Sep]* 9
Movie Analyzes Survival in Nuclear Age *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 3 Sep]* 10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reagan Attempting To Impose New Mideast Plan *[Malyarov]* 12
Bush Backtracks on Support for SDI *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 6 Sep]* 12
IZVESTIYA Profiles George Bush *[3 Sep]* 14

China

XINHUA Authorized To Announce Rocket Launch 15
PRC Defense Minister Qin Jiwei Meets Carlucci *[PRAVDA 7 Sep]* 16
PRC Leaders Hold 'Friendly' Talks With Husak *[PRAVDA 6 Sep]* 16
Soviets To Assist Building Nanking Power Plant 16

Northeast Asia

Korean Airline To Fly Over Soviet Airspace *[Seoul]* 16
More on Celebrations for DPRK Anniversary 17
  Chebrikov Arrival Televised *[Pyongyang Television]* 17
  Chebrikov Tours Pyongyang 17
  Kim Il-song Speaks on 'Tasks' 17
  Vorotnikov, Dobrynin at Celebration 18
  Soviet Leaders Send Greetings *[PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 18
  Yazov Greets DPRK Counterpart *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Sep]* 19
  More on Envoy's Moscow Briefing *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* 19
  More on Moscow Reception *[PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 19

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Gerasimov Calls Burmese Problems ‘Internal’ ... 19
Rogachev Receives Australian Party Delegation ... 20
National Day Message Sent to Indonesia’s Suharto *[IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]* ... 20

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Minister Discusses Security Situation *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Sep]* ... 20
Afghanistan Protests Pakistani Airspace Violation ... 21
AWACS Request Behind ‘Anti-Afghan Outcry’ *[Vavilov]* ... 22
Commentary on Pakistani ‘Accusations’ Cited ... 22
Afghan Transport Plane Downed by Stinger ... 23
Afghan Tribal Assembly Condemns Rebel Action ... 23
Vorontsov Receives Iranian Ambassador 8 Sep ... 24
Persian Beam Comments on Iran-Iraq Peace Talks *[Pogodin]* ... 24
Commentator Views GCC Stand on Iran-Iraq War *[Sheftunov]* ... 24
Messages Exchanged With Morocco on Anniversary *[IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]* ... 25
Libya Abolishes Regular Army, State Firms *[IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]* ... 25
IZVESTIYA Reports on Sudan Flood Disaster *[4 Sep]* ... 25
PLO Representative Interviewed on ‘Uprising’ *[IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]* ... 26
Friendship With Jordan Celebrated in Ukraine *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 3 Sep]* ... 27
Supreme Soviet, Qatar Exchange Telegrams ... 28
King of Nepal Sends Thanks for Condolences *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* ... 28

Sub-Saharan Africa

IZVESTIYA Reports on Southern Africa Talks *[1 Sep]* ... 28
Malagasy Premier Receives CPSU Delegation *[PRAVDA 8 Sep]* ... 29
Ghanaian Official Receives CPSU Visitors *[PRAVDA 7 Sep]* ... 29
Zimbabwean Parliamentarians Arrive for Visit *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* ... 30

East Europe

Gerasimov Meets With Hungarian Journalists *[Budapest MTI]* ... 30
Hungary Debates Bills on Public Rights *[IZVESTIYA 5 Sep]* ... 30
CPCZ’s Lenart Talks With Soviet Officials ... 31
    Meets With Maslyukov *[Prague CTK]* ... 31
ZSL Plenum Views Polish Situation *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 3 Sep]* ... 31
Tolstykh Meets With Polish Science Official *[PRAVDA 31 Aug]* ... 32

West Europe

Austria’s Mock To Visit 11-15 Sep ... 32
Kamentsev Leads Delegation to Finland ... 32
    Discusses Trade With Sorsa ... 32
Soviet, French Officials Consult on UN Session *[IZVESTIYA 5 Sep]* ... 32
Dobrynin Receives FRG Bank Official ... 32
Antonov Holds Talks With FRG Businessman ... 32
Paper Notes Military Plane Crashes in FRG ... 33
Norwegian-Soviet Environmental Talks Held *[Oslo AFTENPOSTEN 27 Aug]* ... 33

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Refutes Troop Dispatch Reports ... 34
U.S. Military Facilities in Honduras Criticized *[Bogomolov in PRAVDA 6 Sep]* ... 34
Baby Trafficking in Chile, Latin America Alleged ... 34
Castro Sends Thanks for Anniversary Message *[PRAVDA 3 Sep]* ... 35
Presidium, Peruvian President Exchange Cables *[IZVESTIYA 6 Sep]* ... 36
Consultations With Dominican Officials Reported *[IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]* ... 36

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Rehabilitation of 'Stagnation' Victims Urged *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* 37
Combining of Party, Soviet Posts Viewed *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 35]* 37
Readers Express Hopes, Doubts on Party Elections *[IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]* 39
Further on Stricter Awards Procedures *[PRAVDA 23 Aug]* 41
Weekly's Criticism of Awards Decree 'Bewildering' *[PRAVDA 5 Sep]* 42
Reader's Question on Brezhnev Medal Answered *[TRUD 3 Sep]* 43
Resolution on Improving Trade Services Published *[PRAVDA 23 Aug]* 43
More Labor Discipline, Productivity Urged *[PRAVDA 2 Sep]* 46
Openness on Army's Afghanistan Role Questioned *[MOSCOW NEWS No 35]* 47
Rewriting of School History Books Proceeds *[IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]* 48
Reading of Churbanov Trial Indictment Continues 49
Further Reportage on Ovechkin Hijacking Trial 49
Corruption in Gold Artels, Solutions Discussed *[TRUD 30 Aug]* 50
Investigator on Kazakhstan Corruption Cases *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 36]* 51
Economic 'Extortion' in Stepanakert Examined *[TRUD 4 Sep]* 53
Presumption of Innocence in Law Discussed *[IZVESTIYA 3 Sep]* 56
IZVESTIYA Apologizes for Bribe Accusation *[5 Sep]* 57
Chernobyl Zone Service Benefits Clarified *[IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]* 57
Haste in AES Construction Operation Criticized *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* 58
Historian Lambastes Stalin, War Record *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 1 Sep]* 58
Journalists Recount Events in Prague Spring *[MOSCOW NEWS No 35]* 61
Zaykov, Baklanov Visit Leningrad 1-2 Sep *[PRAVDA 3 Sep]* 64
Vladivostok Moving Toward 'Open City' Status *[IZVESTIYA 4 Sep]* 65
Restructuring in Ukrainian Militia Examined *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 4 Sep]* 65
Writer Assails Moves Against Moldavian Culture *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 30 Aug]* 67
RSFSR Presidium Views Environmental Issues *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 Aug]* 68
Local Party Secretaries Discuss Ideological Work *[PRAVDA 7 Sep]* 69
Cultural Foundation To Publish Journal *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 20 Aug]* 69
Briefs 70
    Kazakh Grain Minister *[Alma-Ata]* 70
    Scientist Receives Award 70
    Yiddish Courses in Moldavia 70

Scientific

U.S. Assistance Offer on 'Soyuz' Praised *[Belitskiy]* 70
'Soyuz' Cosmonauts Hold News Conference 71
Shuttle Undergoing Final Prelaunch Tests 73
Research Director on International Space Project 74
PRC, U.S. Geologists To Work in Amur Oblast 74

Pershing Missiles Destroyed at Longhorn

LD0809214288 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] The Longhorn Army Ammunition Plant (Texas) September 8 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Igor Borisenko:

The process of destruction of American medium-range missiles, Pershing, started here today, in compliance with the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty signed in Washington last December at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

A group of journalists was led to the elimination site where the first stages of Pershing-1A and Pershing-2 missiles were placed on special concrete and steel platforms. A spokesman for the Pentagon explained that the missiles would be burned up.

10 o'clock in the morning. The control centre issues a command for firing. A jet of fire bursts out from the nozzle of the first stage of the Pershing-2 missile followed by a thundering noise that shakes the test range. The fire goes out in 62 seconds. After 15 minutes a command is given to switch on the rocket motor of the first stage of the Pershing-1A missile. After 45 seconds the rocket fuel of the first stage is burned up.

The dark green casing of the first stage is then brought on an automatic loader to a car crusher. Specialists fix the casing on the crusher—the push of a button and powerful steel blades crush the casing. The officials and journalists present at the ceremony meet the event with applause. U.S. Vice President George Bush, who arrived to witness the firings, stressed that the current destruction of missiles was only a beginning. The vice president said that that day would be remembered as the beginning of a process of destruction of weapons of annihilation. At the same time the vice president spoke of the need to conduct the policy from the positions of strength.

Brigadier General Roland Lajoie, director of the American on-site inspection agency, said that the destruction of missiles led to better understanding and, hopefully, to greater trust between the USSR and USA. Speaking in a TASS interview General Lajoie described the day as historic. He noted that the process of missile destruction would take three years to complete. Another nine missiles were to be destroyed at the Longhorn plant within a week after September 12. Then the crushed casings would be buried in a specially assigned place.

The elimination of missiles is the result of the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, Brigadier General Frank Partlow said in a TASS interview. The American negotiators at Geneva were currently working on a broader agreement on strategic offensive weapons, he continued. The general expressed the hope that that agreement would be drafted.

First Cruise Missiles Removed From UK

LD0809203688 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Alconbury, Britain, September 8 TASS—TASS special correspondent Sergey Terekhov reports:

Two heavy military transports of the U.S. Airforce—Galaxy and Starlifter—took off one after another from a runway of the Airforce base in Alconbury, Cambridgeshire county, at 14:00 just as scheduled. The cargo bay of the first plane holds two launchers of Tomahawk cruise missiles, each of which can carry four such missiles. But now they set off for a long flight across the ocean without the usual "stuffing". There are two long white containers aboard the Starlifter, bearing numerous warning signatures and instructions. Each of them holds one cruise missile. Both aircraft veer sharply to the left and head for the United States with lenses of dozens of photographic and nine cameras pointed at them. There the planes' cargo is to be destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

This was how the procedure to move out of Britain two cruise missiles, the first out of 118 to be removed from the territory of the country under the treaty timetable by 1991, the procedure that took up many hours, was completed. This event is noteworthy also because it is the first specific action on the part of the West to destroy this class of armaments on the European Continent.

Two cruise missiles and both missile launchers, dispatched to the United States today, arrived in Alconbury from a nearby U.S. nuclear-missile base at Molesworth. At a press conference held there British Secretary for Defence George Younger described this step as an all-important milestone in arms control and emphasized that the successful implementation of the INF Treaty demonstrates the reality of this process and, moreover, holds out hope for a success in the field of reducing strategic offensive armaments.

At the same time, the minister alleged that the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles and Pershings forced the USSR to conclude the INF Treaty. Younger holds that the dialogue with the East should be conducted from the position of strength rather than weakness. He confirmed the Conservative government's intention to continue building military policy on the basis of the "nuclear deterrence" principles.

TV Reports on Withdrawal

LD0809213888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Vsevolod Shishkovskiy video report from the UK]

[Excerpts] The first batch of U.S. cruise missiles was removed from the U.S. Air Force base of Molesworth in Great Britain today.

[Shishkovskiy] An unusually high degree of animation reigns here today. Activists of the British campaign for nuclear disarmament have been heading for military bases since early morning. Everybody's spirits are uplifted, for the withdrawal of the first U.S. cruise missile sited on the territory of Western Europe will be starting here in a few hours. It is being implemented in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

This was pointed out at a news conference at the Molesworth base by Younger, the British secretary of defense, and Price, the U.S. ambassador in London. The journalists were informed that the first two cruise missiles will be removed from here today and the withdrawal of the others will be completed in the next few months. Next, the withdrawal of the same type of missiles from the military base of Greenham Common will begin.

In an interview for Soviet television, British Defense Secretary Younger expressed satisfaction at the start of the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. agreement. He emphasized that Great Britain intends to fulfill strictly all the obligations connected with that document and to ensure the withdrawal of the U.S. Tomahawks from the country's territory in the course of 3 years. Although Mr Younger went on to say that his government does not have any plans to replace the missiles being removed with any other weapons, he let it be understood that London intends to maintain its nuclear arsenal at an appropriate level. [passage omitted]

In a few hours the first U.S. missiles will be loaded onto an aircraft and dispatched to the United States.

Chervov Comments on Disarmament Prospects

PM0709102288 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 2 Sep 88 p 14

[Report on interview with Soviet disarmament negotiator General Nikolay Chervov by Marco Ansaldo at unspecified location in Italy; date not given]

[Text] Rome—"Despite the disagreements over the ABM Treaty, I am confident that it will be possible to reach an understanding with the United States on a 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons. It is technically possible: All the documents are ready; it is merely necessary to eliminate the parentheses that indicate the disagreements between the Americans and us. There is not much time left but the signing could take place even before the end of January, that is, by the end of Reagan's term of office. We want to conclude the agreement with him. Be that as it may, the negotiating process is irreversible. We have sent out a 'bridge' to the next Washington administration, whoever the next president may be—Bush or Dukakis—with a view to reaching new understandings."

In Italy to attend a roundtable on disarmament at the L'UNITA festival in Florence, General Nikolay Chervov, head of a department in the Soviet General Staff, took stock in an interview with LA REPUBBLICA of some aspects of East-West negotiations, the process of renewal within the Red Army, and Gorbachev's "new doctrine" in foreign policy. Age 66 and with a striking resemblance to Anthony Quinn, Chervov is, by virtue of his age and experience (he has long been a top Soviet Defense Ministry official), one of Mikhail Gorbachev's most trusted aides and one of the leading arms control negotiators. At present he is following the Geneva and Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament, space, and chemical and biological weapons.

"Nevertheless," the general explained, "there are many difficulties. On technical matters the U.S. position and ours are still remote. What is needed to resolve these difficulties is U.S. political will. The negotiations have made major steps forward on the limitation of strategic weapons but certainly not on the verification and controls to which they must be subject."

[Ansaldo] General Chervov, with regard to disarmament there has been no more talk about the proposal launched by Gorbachev in Yugoslavia in March of a withdrawal of the U.S. and USSR fleets from the Mediterranean. Why this silence?

[Chervov] We must reproach our propaganda and journalists, who evidently have not persevered in reporting on the issue. These proposals are still valid; we are constantly reaffirming them to the Americans—as we did recently to Secretary of Defense Carlucci and Admiral Crowe. We are in favor not only of reducing the naval presence but also of limiting naval activity. This, because war can break out even at sea and, whereas the land forces are all under control, naval forces are not. The USSR is ready to withdraw its navy ships from the Mediterranean if the United States does the same. We want the Mediterranean to be a sea of peace.

[Ansaldo] Wednesday Hungarian Foreign Minister Varkonyi again mentioned the possibility of a withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary. Few people in Europe believe you would go as far as to take such a step....

[Chervov] At the latest Warsaw Pact meeting a plan was put forward that was immediately accepted by all the allied countries. The Pact is ready to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and East Germany—not unilaterally but on a multilateral basis with the NATO countries. As for Varkonyi's remarks, I know nothing about them.

[Ansaldo] In recent statements by top party and military leaders, including some in the Soviet press, great emphasis has been placed on the need for the Armed Forces to perform a prime role in the restructuring process.

[Chervov] The position is that set out by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to party leaders. It was a speech delivered precisely in the spirit of glasnost and restructuring. Our strategic line entails the qualitative renewal of the Soviet Armed Forces. So there will be no quantitative increase in the Army or in weapons production.

[Ansaldo] Regional crises: The Moscow press is devoting increasing coverage to the problems of reintegrating Soviet troops back from Afghanistan. You have a problem similar to that experienced by the Americans with their Vietnam veterans.

[Chervov] It is natural for there to be difficulties for youngsters returning from the front. We cannot resolve them all overnight. I assure you that our government is working to ensure their reintegration into civilian life as soon as possible.

[Ansaldo] Yesterday saw the end of the China-USSR talks on the Cambodian issue. Do you believe an accord with Beijing on the Indochinese crisis is possible while troops remain on the border?

[Chervov] Peace in Afghanistan has prompted a chain reaction in regional conflicts—the cease-fire in the Gulf, the accords in southern Africa. Yes, I believe there will be positive developments for Cambodia too in the future.

[Ansaldo] General Ziaul Haq is dead. You did not consider him a friend. Now there is talk of opposition leader Benazir Bhutto's succession in Pakistan. Would the USSR like this?

[Chervov] We want our southern borders to be peaceful. Pakistan will determine its future autonomously. If a more democratic leadership emerges from the elections, it will be a good thing—for us and for the West.

Paper Views Development of SDI Lasers

PM0809133188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[M. Ponomarev "Observer's Notes": "Laser Flashes at White Sands"]

[Text] The U.S. periodical DEFENSE NEWS reported recently that the Perkin-Elmer corporation has won a contract to manufacture free-electron laser guidance apparatus. This apparatus will be used during an experiment with a prototype earth-based laser planned for the early nineties at the White Sands (New Mexico) test range. Lockheed Missiles and Space is the main subcontractor in carrying out this experiment. It has already received $179 million for preparatory work.

The fact that this report arrived on the eve of the third anniversary of first test of a laser installation developed under the "Strategic Defensive Initiative" program at White Sands is obviously coincidental. But the zeal shown by the organizers and operators of SDI can in no way be called coincidental. They cannot wait for the moment when strike weapons—the very weapons that are more often called "Star Wars" weapons in the United States—appear in space orbit.

I would remind readers (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already written about this), that 3 years ago, on 6 September 1985, a Titan-2 ICBM casing was hit by a laser at the White Sands range. This experiment was accompanied by a large-scale propaganda and advertising campaign. Pictures taken at the range were shown on television and upbeat reports printed on the front pages of newspapers. Lieutenant General J. Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO), which was monitoring the tests, expressed open excitement about the results. In his words, it was a very impressive sight.

It later transpired that such assessments were rather exaggerated. The experiment was held in what were by no means war conditions. Atmospheric conditions were ideal. The target—the missile casing—was stationary. It was in an upright position and was a comparatively short distance (less than 1 km) away from the laser installation. Nonetheless, the boosting campaign played its part. The SDIO obtained funds to continue work on lasers of various types and for various roles. Yet another Titan-2 missile was destroyed. The Air Force tested the laser against a target aircraft, the ground forces used a laser device to hit surface-to-air missiles, and the U.S. Navy experimented with a laser device that made it possible to illuminate a missile in flight. And at the end of last year a powerful new laser working in the infrared range was tested at White Sands. The Defense Department reported that it had successfully hit a missile in flight.

The laser devices discussed above are chemical lasers. In particular, the Titan missiles were "hit" by hydrogen fluoride lasers. But together with this ever-increasing scale, work is being conducted on the creation of combat lasers of a fundamentally different type—the so-called nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers. It is on this type of laser that the proponents of SDI—above all, E. Teller, who is called in America the "father of the hydrogen bomb"—are pinning their hopes of creating an antimissile defense with space-based elements. His reports to the President on the potential to create a "superweapon" based on an X-ray laser formed the basis of R. Reagan's well-known speech which initiated the "Strategic Defense Initiative."

True, proof that Teller's assessments were highly exaggerated is now becoming public. Although extremely active work is being carried out on an X-ray laser—underground nuclear tests have even been held in relation to the project—there is still a long way to go before it is actually implemented. But the not-yet-born brainchild of Teller and his assistants from the Livermore National Laboratory has already played its part as a detonator for the "Star Wars" program. The work to implement this program is becoming ever broader in scale and the pace of the work is constantly increasing. Billions of dollars are annually allocated for these purposes.

Thus, reports have appeared about definite progress in creating laser weapons systems and in research to create electromagnetic guns. It is planned to use these weapon systems within the SDI framework. The McDonnell Douglas corporation is pushing ahead with work on antimissile missiles to destroy warheads in their reentry phase. Together with airborne missile complexes, they are meant to be the final layer in an ABM system with space-based elements. Research is under way which should lead to the creation of a system of infrared instruments able to locate an ICBM before it enters the denser layers of the atmosphere. A nuclear reactor is under development, as is a special system utilizing solar radiation, to power space strike arms.

The danger of the "Star Wars" program has repeatedly been stated. Putting weapons in space will inevitably lead to a growth in mutual distrust and suspicion. It will make the world less stable and less predictable and will whip up the arms race. Mankind's fate will be increasingly dependent on chance technical faults. Here it is appropriate to recall the terrible mistake committed by the much-vaunted "Aegis" air defense system fitted to the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes," which led to the destruction of an airliner and its 300-odd passengers. "A space-based strategic defense system," SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN writes with alarm, "will be even more prone to mistakes in target identification than was the 'Vincennes.'"

Here the allegations so widely trumpeted in Washington that SDI is purely defensive in nature are no help. They were unexpectedly refuted by none other than former Pentagon chief C. Weinberger. In the Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN, he literally stated the following: "If the Soviet Union acquires SDI, that would mean it would be able to inflict a first strike, and our response would be considerably weakened or eliminated altogether."

Yes, the essence of SDI lies precisely in the fact that it creates the illusion that a nuclear first strike with impunity is possible—and that is its greatest danger to all mankind. Nonetheless, not only the current Washington administration, but those Republican Party figures who are counting on taking over from the administration continue blindly clinging to it. Both presidential hopeful G. Bush and vice presidential hopeful D. Quayle make no bones about the fact that they are fervent supporters of the speediest deployment of SDI. On the contrary, they even emphasize this in their campaign speeches.

The Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty is an obstacle to transferring the arms race to space. That is why it is a target of furious attacks from SDI supporters. The fundamental position with regard to the need to observe the ABM Treaty and not abandon it was worked out during the Washington summit and reaffirmed at the Moscow summit. However, there has been no progress at the Geneva talks, where a draft agreement on this subject is supposed to be worked out. The reason for this is the U.S. side's approach. Advocating a "broad" interpretation of the treaty, it is to all intents and purposes working to undermine it for the sake of retaining SDI.

More on Perfilyev Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Gulf Talks; Brazil; Burma

LD0809154888 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—It is noted with satisfaction in the Soviet Union that the Senate of the U.S. Congress ratified on Wednesday the convention on early notification of a nuclear accident and the convention on assistance in the case of a nuclear accident or radiological emergency, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing at the press-centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry today. The Soviet Union is party to these two conventions and observes them unswervingly.

Dwelling on the Iran-Iraq talks, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said: "We are concerned over the impasse that developed there. We shall favour any resolute efforts of the United Nations secretary-general in Geneva where the negotiations are underway now or in New York where it is apparently more convenient for the secretary-general to work." It is held in the Soviet Union that the effort toward the normalization of the situation in the world would be blighted if the new outbreak of hostilities between Iran and Iraq were not prevented, V. Perfilyev said.

Soviet-Brazilian consultations on questions of the coming session of the United Nations General Assembly were held in Brasilia. Ambassador at large Oleg Grinevskiy took part in the consultations from the Soviet side. General secretary of the Foreign Ministry (in the rank of first deputy minister) Paolo Tarso Flecha de Lima took part in the consultations from the Brazilian side, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The decision to step up the boycott of the South African regime in the area of cultural ties in connection with the United Nations' broad campaign for international isolation of the South African regime was adopted at the international symposium in Athens, "Culture Against Apartheid," sponsored by the U.S. Special Committee Against Apartheid with the assistance and support of the Greek Government.

Answering the question about the attitude to the events in Burma, V. Perfilyev said that these events are a purely domestic matter of that country. The Burmese people itself will decide on the form of the internal structure of its country.

"We believe the main thing now is that there should be no outside interference in internal Burmese affairs. And going by the coming report, such attempts are already being made," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. "Any outside interference will only complicate the process of normalization of the situation in that country and will contradict national interests of the Burmese people. As to the Soviet Union that traditionally maintains friendly relations with Burma, it would like Burma to be an independent, integral and prosperous state contributing to the ensurance of universal peace and security."

India's Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh arrives in Moscow today for a brief working visit on the way from Nicosia. He will take part in Soviet-Indian consultations.

Denies Sharing CW Technology

LD0909095688 Moscow TASS in English 0936 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—"The Soviet Union has never transferred to anybody either technology, or models, or still components of chemical weapons," said today Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate.

Asked by a TASS diplomatic correspondent about reports which appeared in some U.S. mass media and which describe, referring to the British journal JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, alleged use of Soviet-made chemical weapons in Angola, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that "such insinuations had no grounds at all."

UN Environment Chief To Visit

LD0809173488 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—Mostafa K. Tolba, executive director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), will be visiting Moscow from September 13 to 16, a briefing was told today by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He is to hold talks with Fedor Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, and Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. The upcoming visit of the UNEP executive director to the USSR is within the framework of our country's efforts for enhancing the effectiveness of the international nature protection cooperation, for promoting the concept of international ecological security, he stressed.

"The Soviet Union highly values the role of UNEP as the coordinator of international efforts in the field of environmental protection and rational utilisation of natural resources", the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said. This role, as we believe, should be enhanced as the ecological threats in the world grow.

Petrovskiy Addresses UN Meeting on Body's Role

PM0809110788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Moscow Conference"]

[Text] For the first time officials, academics, diplomats, and UN representatives from countries of the North, South, East, and West have embarked on a discussion of the UN role in light of the world situation. This was stated by Michel Doo Kingue, UN deputy secretary general and executive director of the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), opening the roundtable conference "The Future Role of the United Nations in an Interdependent World" on 5 September in Moscow. Its organizers are UNITAR and the Soviet UN Association. Around 70 political, public, and academic figures from 33 countries are participating in the conference's work.

The conference was addressed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy. He conveyed greetings to its participants from M.S. Gorbachev and wishes for success in its responsible activity, which is particularly important at the present crucial time in the development of international relations—a time when the edifice of a nuclear-free, nonviolent world is beginning to be built and new thinking established in political consciousness through joint efforts. M.S. Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World" is the epitome of the new political thinking, he said. It focuses attention on the question of the UN role in the formation of an all-embracing system of international security and in the conscious regulation of international relations in a nuclear-free world. For all the diversity of the proposals contained in this article they are united by a common aim—to promote the elaboration of measures which will enable the United Nations, as the chief universal organ of security, to ensure the maintenance of security at a high level of reliability in all spheres.

The deputy foreign minister stressed that the UN role is not growing of its own accord. It is the result of concrete actions by its member states, above all the permanent members of the Security Council, the members of the Nonaligned Movement, and all those who are aware that present-day realities dictate the need to be guided not by narrow egotistical considerations but by supreme, genuinely common human interests and to seek generally acceptable solutions to problems on the basis of balanced interests.

It is our belief that there is no proper alternative to cooperation in the United Nations. And our belief is not at variance with our actions. Our willingness to enrich the creative potential of the United Nations in all spheres of its activity is reinforced by a solid contribution to strengthening its material and financial base.

It was noted in participants' speeches that the policy of military deterrence, above all nuclear deterrence, is clearly played out and cannot serve as the basis of a sober policy: The material and moral-psychological cost of eternally fearing total destruction is too great for mankind, and therefore there is an urgent need to switch to politico-legal interstate relations and the establishment of common security on a qualitatively new foundation.

A greetings message from UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar was read out at the opening of the conference.

Current NATO 'Stormy' Maneuvers Questioned

PM0809124988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov "Viewpoint": "Dangerous Games"]

[Text] For over 3 months now stormy military activity has been developing in the United States and countries allied with it. On land, in the skies, and at sea hundreds of thousands of soldiers, sailors, and airmen are participating in maneuvers.

This began back in May, when a special squadron—part of the NATO "rapid response" formations set up in 1969—held exercises in the Mediterranean under the characteristic title of "Deterrent Force ⅛8." And things grew from there.

The Pentagon generals' staff plans are backed up by increasingly large-scale actions by U.S. and NATO armed forces in the course of the series of maneuvers being held in Europe under the general title of "Autumn Forge." From September through November 20 military exercises will be held over a territory stretching from the Arctic Circle to the Mediterranean in which a total of 347,000 soldiers will participate. In this connection an additional 17,000 servicemen and approximately 1,500 "military hardware units" have been moved by air and sea from the United States to Europe.

At the same time, U.S. and NATO admirals are playing at war. Their naval forces began major maneuvers in the North Atlantic 31 August under the title of "Team Work-88," with the participation of 2 aircraft carriers, approximately 200 other warships, 500 aircraft and helicopters, and 45,000 personnel.

Finally, NATO air forces are also holding their maneuvers 6 through 23 September under the title of "Cold Fire"—chiefly in FRG airspace.

Thus what we have here is a far-flung and efficiently coordinated rehearsal of military operations on a large scale, whose thrust they do not even attempt to hide.

The European public has a right to ask the U.S. and NATO generals who are carried away with these dangerous games: What is going on? Why was this rehearsal of military operations necessary at the very time when the leaders of the United States and NATO countries are hailing in their speeches the relaxation of tension which has begun in international relations, when intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are already being destroyed and talks on a further arms reduction are getting under way?

And all this at the same time as the armed forces of the USSR and our allies are showing the greatest restraint in holding their military exercises—they are being held on a small scale and are devoted only to working out the Warsaw Pact Organization's defensive doctrine.

Another natural question arises: Why do the United States and its allies so stubbornly refuse to extend the confidence-building measures formulated at the Stockholm conference to the holding of maneuvers by their own naval and air forces? Our military people do not fear inspections on condition that reciprocity is observed. Not so long ago, 25 July, they invited their colleagues to the Baltic Fleet's small-scale exercises aimed, once again, at working out elements of our defensive doctrine. And what happened? The United States and NATO turned down that invitation. Was it not because they fear a return visit from Soviet inspectors?

And again. Why have these noisy U.S. and NATO "war games" been undertaken **right now** [boldface as published]? I believe that THE WASHINGTON POST is not far off the truth in an article published 20 August, when it linked a large-scale military staff game recently conducted by the Pentagon directly with the recommendations set forth in a report by a high-level consultative commission submitted to President Reagan last January. These recommendations state that the United States must devote chief attention to expanding (!) purchases of "the latest weapons systems"—aircraft of the Stealth type, cruise missiles, unmanned aircraft, complex radar systems, and so forth.

These "recommendations," so Pentagon staffers hope, according to THE WASHINGTON POST, will be used "as the basis for making decisions" on developing [razrabotka], producing, and purchasing the latest weapons systems "over the next 5-15 years regardless (!) of which party's representative becomes U.S. president."

Consequently, we have here another attempt by the military-industrial complex to fuel tension with the help of military rehearsals on a vast scale so as to make Congress cough up for the next round of the arms race. I believe, however, that this attempt will meet with determined resistance from all sober-minded people who advocate continuing the policy of limiting and reducing arms formulated during the four Soviet-U.S. summit meetings in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow.

Cypriot Foreign Minister on Nonaligned Aims

PM0809150788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interview With Y. Iakovou"]

[Text] Nicosia, 6 September—The main aim of the Nonaligned Movement is the struggle for peace and for peaceful coexistence, Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou states. He gave TASS correspondents Mikhail Mashkov and Vsevolod Polonskiy an interview on the eve of the opening of the nonaligned foreign ministers' conference in the Cypriot capital.

In order to attain this aim, Y. Iakovou said, the movement is struggling to relax tension, eliminate dangerous trends in the international arena, and strengthen friendship and cooperation among peoples. The nonaligned states advocate the development of North-South cooperation, a reduction in the economic divide between developed and developing countries, and the creation of a new, just international economic order.

I am convinced, the Cypriot minister stressed, that the activity of the Nonaligned Movement has considerably helped to create and consolidate the atmosphere of mutual understanding in the world and has had a fruitful effect on the positive development of USSR-U.S. relations and on securing progress in the settlement of various regional conflicts.

Y. Iakovou pointed out that the upcoming forum for nonaligned countries' foreign ministers will discuss questions of disarmament, international security, the situation in southern Africa, the Near East, Southeast and Southwest Asia, and Latin America, the international economic crisis, the problems of the increasing gap between developed and developing countries, and the growth in the latters' indebtedness.

One of the conference's central tasks is to determine the degree of the Nonaligned Movement's responsibility for the future of mankind. New positive trends in the world are giving nonaligned countries the chance to make a substantial contribution to the resolution of regional and international problems.

I will take this opportunity, Y. Iakovou said in conclusion, to once again express profound gratitude to the Soviet Union for its constant consistent support for the Cypriot people's struggle. I would also like to point out the USSR's positive role in ensuring international peace and also in supplying the multifaceted aid that it offers the Nonaligned Movement.

Katushev Meets European Parliament President

LD0809205588 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—There was a meeting today between USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev and president of the European Parliament Lord Plumb. A broad range of questions of the establishment of economic cooperation between the USSR and the EEC was discussed.

On the same day Lord Plumb visited the Lenin collective farm in the Moscow region. On the example of that economy he familiarized himself with the structure and activity of Soviet agrarian cooperatives that were formed in the thirties. They now play special role in resolving the food problem. "The sorest point in the life of society", as it was noted at the 19th all-union party conference.

Collective farms now constitute an important sector of the USSR economy. They own 40 per cent of the main facilities of agricultural production. Alongside state farms, collective farms account for 47 per cent of agricultural output. There are some 27,000 collective farms. More than 12 million people work in them. The adoption of the law on cooperation in May of this year considerably widened the rights and duties of collective farmers.

Complex tasks face collective farms in conditions of the restructuring of the life of Soviet society. New forms of economic management—collective, family, individual and lease contracts—are introduced everywhere. Agricultural firms are set up. They not only grow agricultural produce but also process it.

Agricultural and industrial enterprises are allowed to conduct operations on the foreign market, have an opportunity to set up joint ventures with foreign firms. Regrettably, these forms of cooperation have not yet developed duly in collective farms. The initial experience exists, however. Soviet enterprises establish contracts in the area of agricultural production with Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Spain and other countries.

Austria's Mock Interviewed on Vienna CSCE Talks

PM0809145388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with Alois Mock, Austrian vice chancellor and foreign minister, by own correspondent S. Tosunyan in Vienna: "Alois Mock: After the Consultations—Time For Decisions"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Vienna—Talks recently resumed in Vienna after a short break between the delegations of the 35 CSCE states. The 3-week recess was used by diplomats for consultations with their governments. The present phase is described as crucial. What are the chances of the speediest completion of the Vienna meeting and what are the prospects if the meeting is successful and if a final document is adopted? IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Vienna asked Alois Mock, Austria's vice chancellor and foreign minister, these questions. This is what he said.

[Mock] I was commissioned 4 months ago by my colleagues—the foreign ministers of the neutral and nonaligned countries—with submitting a draft final document for examination by the meeting's participants. Today I can say with satisfaction and gratitude that this draft was greeted positively by all the delegations. The debate that unfolded around this document showed that the draft serves not only as the basis for further talks but also that a considerable proportion of it may be incorporated into the final document unchanged or with just small amendments.

The successful completion of the Vienna meeting may be an important landmark in the struggle to ensure stable peace in Europe and to improve East-West relations in general. This will be a landmark followed by other good initiatives—we would not want to postpone till the future something that can be done today. We hope that after Vienna the process of detente will be continued and that other more important and more constructive accords will be secured on the entire spectrum of problems concerning security and cooperation in Europe.

Great changes are under way in Europe. They are especially marked in the Soviet Union and in certain other Warsaw Pact countries. We are following them with understanding and sympathy. They need time in economic and social life. It would be incorrect not to take this into consideration. A well known statesman once said: "We can put the hands of our clocks forward, but this won't make time pass quicker." Patience is an important characteristic of practical policy. The decisions elaborated at the Vienna meeting must also be geared toward the future. For meetings on European security and cooperation are being held not to record the political state today but in order to make progress and to jointly seek out new ways of strengthening peace. If we succeed in finally coordinating and adopting the final document, we will take a crucial step that will qualitatively enhance and enliven the CSCE process. This would be a prerequisite—I would even say—a guarantee that the forum following the Vienna meeting will be successful.. In my opinion, it is very important that the decisions that we adopt in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian problems are reflected concretely straightaway in the political life of each of our countries and in the life of every person.

An overall revival of East-West relations has been observed recently. As has their desire for dialogue and the peaceful solution of conflicts. The treaty signed between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and the subsequent Moscow talks between U.S. President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev on strategic arms reductions played a beneficial role in this.

See how much concrete evidence of the manifestation of goodwill has followed this: Soviet troops are being withdrawn from Afghanistan, military operations have been halted between Iran and Iraq, plans are afoot to resolve the conflicts in the south of Africa and in Southeast Asia, and new dynamics have appeared in the talks between the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus. All these good changes in the international situation also have a positive impact on the progress of the Vienna meeting.

The governments of all 35 CSCE countries—as is obvious from the conclusion of the delegations' leaders—agree that it is time to adopt a substantive and mutually acceptable final document. None of the planned decisions makes any encroachments or restricts the sovereignty of the countries involved in the Vienna meeting. This also applies to Romania, from whose government we expect great understanding in their approach to the draft final document.

Following its signing, there will be an opportunity for subsequent important decisions. The picture of future joint measures is gradually appearing and the time and place for implementing them are being determined. We are glad that our proposal to hold in Austria two subsequent forums on military security were supported and approved by most of the participants in the present meeting. Of course, we share their desire that these forums begin where possible in 1988.

Officials Discuss CEMA, EEC Relations

LD0809192988 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—"Soviet people together with other peoples of Europe are prepared to build 'our common European house'," said Nikolay Afanasyevskiy, head of the European department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He took part today in a programme of Soviet Central Television, devoted to the common European process.

"The aid of building 'the common European house'," Nikolay Afanasyevskiy stressed, "is to overcome the economic and political divison between the CMEA and EEC. At the begining, all European nations should realize the need for peaceful coexistence in the name of the future of the continent." CMEA secretary Vyacheslav Sychev dwelled upon the relationship between this organisation and the EEC. He said it was bland anachronism that CMEA and EEC had no contacts for decades. But the establishment this summer of official relations has improved conditions for mutually advantageous trade, for positive shifts in other fields, he added.

Vyacheslav Sychev said that the solution of the problem of convertibility of the currency of CMEA member countries inside the organisation and with Western countries was one of the most important ways of normalising economic and political cooperation between European countries. To this end, a number of radical measures in the economy is needed to ba carried out in the socialist countries of Europe, he noted. The solution of the problem of convertibility expands not only economic but also political and humanitarian ties between CMEA and EEC.

Prospects for EEC-CEMA Cooperation Discussed

PM0709140088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by I. Frantseva, scientific staffer of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System: "CEMA and the 'Common Market': What Cooperation Promises for Tomorrow"]

[Text] The signing of the joint declaration on establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC was assessed everywhere as a significant event both for Europe and for the entire international community. There is every reason for this assessment.

First, this action should have a profound stabilizing influence on the political climate in Europe. Second, a long-term consequence could be the rebirth of the old continent and a radical change in the economic map of the world. Third, the establishment of relations between CEMA and the EEC creates favorable conditions for the development of the new political thinking. I will say more: In my view it was in the context of CEMA-EEC problems that the first signs of this new thinking appeared, in May 1985. At that time, during a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Italian Prime Minister B. Craxi (Italy was chairman of the EEC at the time), the question of the need for the speediest normalization of relations between CEMA and the European Community was raised. This bold step was taken in the context of a complex international situation, at a time when it seemed that the 15-year dialogue between CEMA and the EEC, the "dialogue of the deaf," as the Western press used to call it, had finally reached an impasse.

The establishment of relations between CEMA and the EEC does not simply remove the anachronism of mutual nonrecognition by two major international economic organizations. This act means a victory for the objective, scientifically substantiated approach to economic integration in Western Europe, an approach that was for many years accepted only among specialists in international economics and did not influence decisions in the foreign policy sphere.

And finally, by establishing relations with the EEC and agreeing that economic cooperation between the CEMA and EEC countries can follow two parallel paths (relations between the groupings, and trade and economic relations between individual CEMA countries and the Community), CEMA has stopped closing its eyes to the peculiar situation existing in economic ties between the CEMA and EEC countries. In fact, the diversity of these ties is only natural. They did not spring up overnight, they developed gradually by virtue of geographical and historical conditions. They are not the result of political will, but a manifestation of objective economic necessity, and in some spheres they are vitally important to the partners.

Such bilateral ties do not hamper multilateral cooperation. They supplement it, and at the present stage this could be the most realistic way of developing trade and economic relations on the European Continent. It is no accident that at the same time as signing the joint declaration the Soviet Union declared its readiness to establish official bilateral relations with the EEC too.

The potential for cooperation between CEMA and the EEC is colossal. Its realization could lead to a major leap forward in the economy of Eastern and Western Europe and changes in the correlation of forces in the world economy in favor of Europe. Does this mean that the establishment of official relations is sufficient in itself to ensure that cooperation becomes more intensive and effective? Certainly not. On the contrary, the volume of difficulties and problems will even increase. It will increase because the real work is only now beginning: the quest for promising areas, the drafting of specific projects and agreements, and—very importantly—the creation of a mechanism of cooperation to ensure the long-term development of mutually advantageous ties between the 12 West European and 10 socialist countries and their organizations.

The mutual benefits and mutual interest in cooperation exist objectively. They are inherent in the complementarity and interdependence of the economic structures of Eastern and Western Europe.

Restructuring and economic reforms in the CEMA countries will make the ties that have become established more valuable. To ensure their successful development, it is of considerable importance to change the structure of exports and strengthen the export potential of the socialist countries. Trading in raw materials is neither commercially nor ecologically advantageous today. It is necessary not merely to sell at a profit, but to sell in such a way as to avoid causing irreversible losses to the socialist countries' natural wealth. And naturally, economic ties today cannot be confined to trade alone. A very important reserve for their development is stable, multifaceted coproduction ties with firms in EEC countries and, of course, the creation of joint enterprises.

It is generally acknowledged today that integration processes are objective and international. The 44th CEMA Session held in Prague recently envisaged in the long term a gradual transition on the part of interested CEMA countries to the formation of a united market. Consequently we will inevitably come up against problems that the EEC countries have already faced: the introduction of a single customs tariff, a single trade policy, convertibility of currencies, and so forth. Colossal work lies ahead. So why should not CEMA make use of some of the Community's experience in its own interests?

The volume and nature of the problems is further complicated by the fact that preparations are in full swing in the EEC for the setting up of the "single European market" in 1992. West European integration is entering a new phase, and this cannot but affect its nearest neighbors, including CEMA countries.

The history and practice of CEMA-EEC relations shows that a dogmatic, excessively politicized approach to the problems of economic cooperation and disregard for objective realities cause us to fall back seriously in comparison with other partners of the EEC and restricts prospects for cooperation.

Western Europe is on the verge of great changes today. What it will be like in the near future is not a matter of indifference to the CEMA countries. Economic restructuring in the CEMA countries is, in turn, also a part of the economic restructuring of the European continent. Therefore both in tackling their own internal problems and in developing trade and economic cooperation with each other CEMA and the EEC bear a responsibility for the nature of the path traveled by their countries' peoples toward the common European home.

Movie Analyzes Survival in Nuclear Age

PM0809153788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by B. Yunanov: "Will Teller's Turn Come?"]

[Text] On 27 September 1959 N.S. Khrushchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, appeared on American television during a visit to the United States. He said: "...It seems to me that conditions for the U.S. President are more complex than for me. Clearly, the forces hindering the improvement of relations between our countries and the relaxation of international tension are still influential in the United States. That must not be forgotten. But I believe that common sense will ultimately show the right way to resolve international problems. And the only correct way is by eliminating the cold war and consolidating peace throughout the world..."

Khrushchev spoke about detente long before De Gaulle. And at the same time he had a reverential faith in the USSR's military might. But 3 years later the "Cuba crisis" erupted and, I think, it was the common sense in bilateral relations exhibited during his U.S. visit that helped Khrushchev and President Kennedy to emerge from that most complex situation with honor. Political realism prevailed: In the modern world disputes cannot be resolved by force or the logic of the duel.

History would seem to have taught mankind a great many lessons. Thus, by using extensive and rare historical documentary footage the makers of the movie "Insight" (Footnote) (Insight. Scriptwriters M. Ozerov and V. Sevruk, producer Ye. Vermisheva, Central Documentary Film Studio, 1988) have decided to analyze the topical problem of mankind's survival in the nuclear missile age.

...It was 1946. Churchill had taken a new turn: the Fulton speech. Was this the Minister of War reawakening in him? Was this a revival of the hope of burying Bolshevism? But let us not forget another factor—what socialism was mainly associated with in the West in the late forties...

It cannot be denied: The only tried and tested path had been suggested to mankind—the path of peaceful coexistence and dialogue between the two systems. We are reaping the first fruits of that. Khrushchev and Eisenhower could not even dream of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The most difficult things have long seemed that way to us because we lacked the courage to confront them, as the ancients rightly said. Time passes quickly and age makes mankind wise. But old thinking lives on and the forces which oppose the improvement of the international climate are still influential.

That thought comes to mind as you watch the screen: There you see Edward Teller, the "father of the H-bomb" and one of the most consistent apologists of the "Star Wars" program, playing Mozart with an aloof expression on his face. But can he hear Mozart without hearing the voices of others, even his physicist colleagues, an increasing number of whom are expressing doubts about the expediency and feasibility of SDI?

Nevertheless, there is room for insight in the life of every man. Will Edward Teller's turn come?..

United States & Canada

Reagan Attempting To Impose New Mideast Plan

LD0809162988 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—TASS commentator Andrey Malyarov writes:

U.S. President Ronald Reagan has proposed that the foreign ministers of Israel and Egypt should hold a meeting in New York on September 26 to discuss ways of settlement of the Middle East problem. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is supposed to attend it.

The American President's proposal puzzled political news analysts, even in the United States itself. The very possibility of such a meeting gives rise to serious doubts. There has been no response at all from Egypt to the proposal made by the head of the White House. The consent of Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to have such a meeting has been given a hostile reception on the part of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, his partner in the national unity cabinet.

Second, the present-day administration can propose nothing new for Middle East settlement, and this is the opinion of all analysts. And since this is so, then obviously this is yet another attempt to push through the so-called "new American initiative" or "the Shultz plan", as it is called in the Middle East following the ineffectual tour of countries of the region by the U.S. secretary of state.

"The new initiative" is known to have found no response from both parties involved in the Middle East conflict. The Israeli "hawks" with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir at the head did not like the mention of the need of negotiations with the Palestinian Arabs. Arab leaders were not enthusiastic about the American initiative, primarily because that initiative, just as many other Camp David-type versions of "settlement, American way", fully ignores the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and the right to have an independent state of their own.

The striving of the White House to please its Middle East partner, Israel, and to destroy the substance of the Palestinian problem, by relegating a whole people to the status of a minority without any rights, has long been one of the cornerstones of the U.S. Middle East policy. Meagre autonomy in place of the right to self-determination—in the Camp David treaty, full disregard for the Palestinian rights—is Reagan's abortive plan. And now comes a fresh attempt. Washington is stubbornly unwilling to face the truth. And the truth is that it is impossible to decide the future of a people without its own participation. Practically all countries have already admitted that a representative international conference to be attended by all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitiamte representative of the Arab people of Palestine, can and should be the only efficient instrument of bringing durable and fair peace to the Middle East.

Bush Backtracks on Support for SDI

PM0809142188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Yu. Subbotin article: "From Impasse to Impasse. The SDI Problem in the Race for the Presidency"]

[Text] When George Bush stated quite recently in his speech at the Republican Convention that his election campaign had really only just begun, many people ironically thought that perhaps he was too late. The "Reagan's shadow" tag was attached to the vice president with the "superglue" popular in America—one drop of which, if you believe the advertisements, can bear a load of 1 ton.

But then a report arrived from Houston, Texas. It seemed that Bush had made his first serious, although quite cautious, attempt to rid himself of the tag. He set forth his concept of the so-called "Strategic Defensive Initiative," against the backdrop of which he looks less of a fervent supporter of the "Star Wars" program than President Reagan or other conservative Republicans—including Senator Dan Quayle, who is running for vice president.

Although Bush described his support for SDI as a position that runs counter to the position of his rival—the Democrat Michael Dukakis, who opposes the program—he admitted that the full-scale deployment of a space-based antimissile defense system would be too expensive and said that any decisions on that score would be taken by his administration on the basis of the results of further research.

The right wing reacted immediately, accusing the vice president of backtracking. Bush himself did not agree with that assessment and called, in his defense, upon the influential Senator Sam Nunn—a supporter of the development of a "limited system to protect against accidental missile launches."

"If specialists are able to convince me that this would be an insurance policy, a guarantee against an accidental launch or against a weapon falling into the hands of a state that supports terrorism, I would be interested in such a partial deployment," Bush said, adding that for the time being he was not prepared either to support or to categorically reject it.

The vice president has given analysts a difficult task. Observers think that the negative effect of such a statement may not be restricted to the righteous anger of the Republican Party's right wing. In their opinion, such a change in the assessment of SDI could "weaken the credibility" of Bush's attacks on Dukakis, which are aimed at reinforcing the latter's reputation as a politician whose position is weak in the defense sphere.

As yet it is hard to say whether George Bush has made a good or bad move in the election game. But one thing is obvious: If "Reagan's shadow" makes such a move it is a bad sign for SDI itself.

Recent public opinion polls attest that two-thirds of Americans oppose the "Star Wars" program and support the arms control and arms reduction process. Many people are realizing more and more clearly that the astronomical spending on SDI will only lead to an erosion of the national economy, while the curbing of the arms race will, on the contrary, release potential and funds for resolving urgent problems on earth. The Republican presidential hopeful has clearly concluded that this must be taken into account.

Both the Senate and House Armed Services Committees have already concluded that President Reagan's promise to protect the whole country and even allies from a massive nuclear strike is unrealistic. The predominant idea now is to develop a system to protect military targets—first and foremost, strike missiles and command centers. Perhaps this was the original aim of the program, while the talk about an "impenetrable shield" for the civilian population was just the pretty packaging, without which nothing in America sells.

Incidentally, a word about impenetrability. Most Western specialists now take the view that SDI can hardly be more than 90 percent effective. This means that, taking account of the colossal number of warheads accumulated in the world, in the event of a conflict the number of missiles that "got through" would be more than enough for a universal catastrophe.

The plans to deploy so-called "exotic" types of arms—laser, particle beam, and X-ray weapons—also look good on paper. In the opinion of sober-minded scientists, the few sensational demonstrations held recently do not change matters substantially. One such experiment was carried out exactly 3 years ago. A giant earth-based laser was used then to destroy a Titan missile launch vehicle also set up on the ground. A similar experiment a few days later was a failure, but the mass media were not informed about this.

A commission from the American Physics Society headed by two winners of Nobel Prizes for work in the field of lasers presented an exhaustive scientific report concluding that it would take at least 10 years of intensive research to answer the question of whether directed-energy weapons would be needed in an SDI system.

It is now proposed to use kinetic weapons—that is, interceptor missiles based either on space platforms or on earth—in the first stage of the deployment of the system. It is planned to use low-power lasers and charged-particle beams to detect and identify targets in an area where there have also been considerable technical difficulties.

This "sore point" of SDI was unexpectedly revealed by the fatal missile firing by the cruiser "Vincennes" in the Persian Gulf.

"The sophisticated 'Aegis' air defense system," the prestigious journal SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN writes in this connection, "was installed on the warship. It can not only track targets over an area the size of Texas, but is also capable of battle management, analyzing data with the help of computers, and then recommending and even carrying out the necessary action." This system, according to the monthly, "made a terrible mistake by shooting down a commercial airplane."

Nonetheless, the article notes that Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, director of the SDI Organization, believes that the "Aegis" system is "very impressive" and has even ordered his subordinates to study it thoroughly.

"A strategic defense system located in space will be even more prone to mistakes in target identification," Thomas Curry, chief scientist at I Systems Corporation, said. "A meteorite or a fragment of a spaceship or satellite could be mistakenly identified as an attacking enemy missile," SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN stated, developing his idea.

Since, as many specialists believe, the systems of a so-called strategic defense will most likely be closely linked to offensive systems, a false alarm could be followed by an ICBM launch with all its ensuing consequences.

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN stresses one other extremely important fact. Unlike "Aegis," which had been checked in practice over many years, SDI as a system could only be tested theoretically in a situation modeled by researchers.

The software for "Star Wars" is also an unsolved problem. It is now becoming obvious that it would have to be programmed into the computers at their development stage. This means that all possible scenarios for a modern war would have to be defined beforehand. After the systems were deployed, it would no longer be possible to make any changes to the software. The computers would have to make in a few seconds—or at most, minutes—decisions that under "classic" war conditions are made over several days or even weeks by a huge number of specialists, staffs, commands, state leaders, and their advisers.

This is not the end of the problems and unresolved issues. The power supply for combat space system components will require the placing in orbit of powerful nuclear reactors, which will lead to the danger that they may fall to earth and bring about catastrophic accidents or radiation leaks.

And, finally, all this is fantastically expensive.

Opposition to the "Star Wars" program in the United States is gaining ground. One presidential hopeful is bluntly calling it a fruitless fantasy and a technical illusion. The other, as we can see, has been forced to trim, if not backtrack, if only for tactical reasons.

Yet it is too soon to sound the death knell of SDI. There are still too many people in the United States who cherish the political rather than technical illusion of obtaining military superiority over us. And producers of weapons, including "exotic" weapons, are not sitting idly by. After all, if the Pentagon finds it amazingly easy to pay several hundred dollars for a hammer or a toilet seat for a submarine, it is not hard to imagine how much it would fork out on a nuclear-pumped X-ray laser.

IZVESTIYA Profiles George Bush

PM0809130788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev profile of George Bush under the general heading: "Candidates for the Presidency"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] An American sociologist has contended and proved, with references to public opinion polls from many previous years, that the majority of voters are determined in their attitudes, sympathies, and antipathies towards the presidential candidates by the time Labor Day comes around (the first Monday in September). In any case, by the beginning of September the election campaign is into the final stretch. The last few days are distinguished by a heightening of the lunges and ripostes, accusations and counteraccusations exchanged by the two main candidates which will only increase in intensity as time goes on.

The first thing Americans usually think of when the subject turns to George Bush and his attempt to become the next president of the United States, is that no vice president has succeeded in doing this in the last 152 years. The last one who did succeed was Martin van Buren. Since 1836 a barrier seems to have been placed in the way of vice presidents aspiring to the White House. It has not been the lot of any of them to attain victory in the elections and step into the Oval Office to succeed the man who only yesterday was their boss.

Other situations have arisen: A vice president has become the head of the White House when the president has been killed or when—as was the case with Nixon in 1974—the president has resigned. Vice presidents have also gained the Oval Office several years after the end of their vice presidency. But in the last century and a half never, as a result of elections, has there been a "smooth" transition of power—never, on completing his term of office in the White House, has the president handed the reins of government to his constitutional deputy, who has emerged the victor in the elections. Such victories have never been.

One of the most widespread theories explaining this phenomenon is that, having long remained in the shadow of the president, the vice president loses his own identity in the eyes of the electorate and become a faceless creature, ill equipped for independent action. Psychologically, the voter is inclined to ascribe the achievements of an administration to the president, and only to him, while the failures are "spread" across all the rest, including the person considered to be second in command in the administration.

This is perhaps one of the most serious problems G. Bush—confirmed the official candidate for the U.S. presidency at the Republican Party Convention—has to contend with. But this is not his only problem. Conducting a survey among the majority of the convention delegates, AP came up with some startling results. The delegates listed 228 character traits and business qualities in Bush that they consider to be his weak points, and found only 127 strong points.

Delegates feel that Bush's strong points are: His impressive service record—a participant in World War II, Bush was a naval pilot, fought in the Pacific, was brought down in battle, but survived; he is a fairly successful businessman who has made a respectable fortune in the oil business; he is a major party functionary, who headed the Republican Party National Committee during the period when the party was demoralized from the "Watergate" exposures and when its moral image had to be restored; a congressman, who has served two terms on Capitol Hill; a permanent representative of the United States to the United Nations; chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing; director of the CIA; candidate for the presidency in 1980; and, finally, twice vice president.

This service record is indeed impressive, but nevertheless poll after poll shows that, in fact, America is not acquainted with Bush and his views. This bewilderment is understandable: More than once in his political life Bush has changed his views and outlook—sometimes making a complete about-face. The 1980 campaign is significant in this respect. Bush described the economic program of Ronald Reagan, his rival at the time—both were aiming to become the Republican Party's official candidate for the presidency—as nothing other than "economic shamanism" and his future boss as being "extremely right-wing," while he considered himself to be "a moderate conservative."

Having agreed to join Reagan's election team, Bush underwent a transformation. He even claimed that he had never spoken the words "economic shamanism." A video recording provided elementary evidence disproving this. At one time Bush had spoken out in favor of amending the Constitution in order to guarantee equal rights for women and likewise supported the right to abortion. On becoming a "Reaganite," he opposed both these issues, thereby turning women voters against him.

Both Bush and his advisers are inclined to explain these changeable views by saying that a vice president is a member of a team and must therefore be loyal and play by the rules and regulations laid down by this team. And, indeed, for the last 7 or so years, Vice President Bush has never said or done anything that would in any way stand out from the words and actions of the President. On the contrary, he has emphasized more than once that he would follow Reagan "with his eyes shut."

In an attempt to shake off the label of "liberal," Bush has actively cajoled the right wing of the Republican Party. However, he is hardly likely to have succeeded in convincing right-wing conservatives of his political credit-worthiness.

The fact that he has chosen Senator Danforth Quayle, well known on Capitol Hill as a "hawk," as his partner—that is, candidate for vice president—gives no real answer to the question "Whose side are you on, George Bush?" The main reason for this choice seems to be to humor the right wing. His advisers did not conceal the fact that the choice of partner would be the personal decision of Bush, and Bush alone, and that his decision would show everyone how independent he is. However, Quayle's personal qualities, supplied by the press and supplemented by dubious pages from the senator's biography, force many to admit that, of all the possible options, the best choice has not been made. Republican supporters are asking the question: Has Bush not perhaps forgotten how to independently make the right decisions during his 7 years of "life in the shadows"?

Bush's credit-worthiness is even in question in an area which, after visiting 74 countries in the last 7 and ½ years, he considers to be his pet subject—foreign policy. His opponents keep asking questions that sound perfectly reasonable, such as: Where was Bush with his wealth of foreign policy experience when the decision was being made to supply arms to Iran and secretly transfer the proceeds to the contras? Where was Bush and why did he not warn the President of the extremely serious consequences of this action?

At the same time, Bush is credited with the fact that, by making a series of visits to Western Europe, he managed to convince the allies to implement the decision taken by NATO in December 1979 on the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles and Pershing-2 missiles.

The foreign policy platform Bush is taking with him to the elections must fully satisfy Reagan's White House. The most important point is that the platform retains the commitment to the current President's favorite creation—the "Strategic Defense Initiative"—and, what is more, retains it to such an extent that, as retired General Dan Grem, one of the most active supporters of SDI, said to me in a conversation, "I hope that with Bush as president we will renounce the Soviet-American ABM Treaty." In other words, give the green light to "Star Wars."

I would also like to draw attention to something else. Analyzing the foreign policy statements of the vice president, WASHINGTON POST observer David Broder wrote: "Bush has expounded the kind of strategy in the arms control sphere that will be more likely to hold back the achievement of another agreement with the Russians than to accelerate the process." The observer draws particular attention to the fact that Bush will try to make any progress at the talks on strategic nuclear arms dependent on a solution to the problem of conventional weapons.

Naturally, he has to become president first to be able to do all this. And in this respect, as I have already said, Bush has a fair number of problems. Experts are inclined to rank one of them as equal in importance to his foreign policy blunders. This problem is that Bush is not geared to the television age. A graduate of the privileged Yale University, he does not always manage to find a common language with the average American. He simpers, tries to play up to the audience, and, overdoing it, succeeds only in arousing irritation.

And, finally, a brief biography: George Herbert Walker Bush was born in 1924. Married, 5 children, 10 grandchildren. In excellent physical shape. Plays tennis, goes jogging. A millionaire.

China

XINHUA Authorized To Announce Rocket Launch

LD0809082388 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing September 8 TASS—The NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY (XINHUA) has circulated a statement to the effect that it is authorized to announce the coming launching of carrier rockets from September 14 to October 3 off the territory of the People's Republic of China to a definite area of the Pacific Ocean with a radius of 35 nautical miles and with the following coordinates: 28 degrees 13 minutes of northern latitude, 123 degrees 53 minutes of eastern longitude.

For the purpose of ensuring the safety of sea navigation and air traffic, the Government of the People's Republic of China requests the governments of all the interested states to prevent their ships and planes from entering the sea and air space in the above mentioned area from 10.00 to 17.00, Beijing time.

PRC Defense Minister Qin Jiwei Meets Carlucci

PM0809151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Sep—PRC Defense Minister Qin Jiwei held talks here today with U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci. The leaders of the two countries' military departments discussed the contemporary international situation, including that of Cambodia, as well as Sino-U.S. relations. The need for efforts to ease tension on the Korean peninsula was emphasized.

At the meeting the Chinese minister spoke about the course of military building in the PRC.

The sides discussed the present state of military ties between the PRC and the United States and expressed the hope that they will expand further.

PRC Leaders Hold 'Friendly' Talks With Husak

PM0809125588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendly Meeting"]

[Text] Beijing, 5 Sep—When implementing reforms it is necessary to proceed entirely on the basis of the conditions and situation in the individual country and take its potential and resources into account. This was stated by CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang during a meeting with CSSR President G. Husak, who is here on an official friendly visit.

Both countries can learn from one another and exchange experience in conducting reforms, the Chinese leader noted. He told G. Husak about the economic situation in China and about the measures being adopted in the price reform sphere.

Concerning questions of bilateral relations, Zhao Ziyang expressed deep satisfaction at the development and strengthening of relations of friendship and cooperation between the PRC and the CSSR and the two countries' parties and peoples. It can be said, he stressed, that there have been considerable changes in bilateral relations and interstate and parties ties have been completely normalized. They have been further developed and deepened in recent years. This is the result of joint efforts. The CPC and the Chinese Government rate highly the desire of the CSSR and the CPCZ to develop links with China. Zhao Ziyang expressed confidence that the CSSR president's visit will contribute to strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation between the PRC and CSSR.

G. Husak stressed that Czechoslovakia is devoting great attention to deepening friendship between the CPC and the CPCZ and between the two countries' peoples. He pointed out the need for the further comprehensive development of trade and economic, cultural, and other links between China and Czechoslovakia. Concerning international problems, the CSSR president expressed satisfaction that the two countries have identical or similar views on important aspects of the international situation.

Today PRC Central Military Council Chairman Deng Xiaoping met with the CSSR president. He described his conversation with G. Husak as a "meeting between veterans of the international communist movement."

Talking about bilateral relations, Deng Xiaoping and G. Husak expressed satisfaction with the present state of ties between the two parties and countries.

On the same day a consular treaty was signed between the PRC and CSSR. The document was signed by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and CSSR Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek.

CSSR President G. Husak and his entourage left Beijing for Tianjin.

Soviets To Assist Building Nanking Power Plant

LD0909044988 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1855 GMT 8 Sep 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] Here is a noteworthy report from Beijing. A contract has been signed there for the USSR's technical assistance in the construction of a major power station in the city of Nanking. As compensation for the supply of Soviet equipment China will supply us with consumer goods and will also repair our vessels at its shipyards.

Northeast Asia

Korean Airline To Fly Over Soviet Airspace

SK0809045288 Seoul Domestic Service in Korean
0400 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] The Soviet Government has allowed Korean Air [KAL] to fly through Soviet territorial airspace.

A government authority said he knows that our government has been officially informed of the Soviet approval for Korean Air to fly through Soviet territorial airspace for the transport of athletic teams during the Seoul Olympics.

The Soviet Union, which shot down a Korean Air plane by a MiG fighter at Murmansk [as heard] in 1983 on the pretext that the plane had intruded into Soviet territorial airspace, has allowed the KAL plane to fly through its territorial airspace. Thus, it is expected that active exchanges such as an aviation agreement will be signed between our country and the Soviet Union.

The present 15-hour Seoul-Paris flight route will be reportedly reduced by more than 3 hours, when KAL flies through Soviet airspace.

More on Celebrations for DPRK Anniversary

Chebrikov Arrival Televised

SK0909064688 [Editorial Report] Pyongyang Television Service in Korean in a report toward the end of its regular 0905 GMT newscast on 7 September carries a 2-minute item on the arrival of the party and government delegation of the USSR led by Viktor Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Security Committee of the USSR, to attend the celebrations marking the 40th founding anniversary of the DPRK.

The report begins with the announcer stating that Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee, was at the airport to greet the arrival of the Soviet delegation. The camera then shows Kim Chong-il and other DPRK leaders at the airport. A frontal shot shows the plane pulling in on the tarmac and Chebrikov alighting from it. Kim Chong-il shakes hands with Chebrikov and other members of the Soviet delegation. The camera then shows Chebrikov shaking hands with Kye Ung-tae, Ho Tam, and Yon Hyong-muk. The report ends with a high-angle shot of Kim Chong-il exchanging remarks with Chebrikov on the airport tarmac. The report does not include a walk on the red carpet nor does it have any shots of people waving their bouquets to welcome the delegation, which are customarily shown in Pyongyang television reports on other delegations arriving for founding anniversary celebrations.

Chebrikov Tours Pyongyang

LD0809231688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, a Soviet party and government delegation led by Comrade Chebrikov, which is taking part in the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the formation of the DPRK, is in Pyongyang.

[Correspondent M. Kretov] The members of the delegation continued acquainting themselves with Pyongyang, the capital of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students, which will take place here next summer. They visited the construction site of the stadium on the island of Nungnado. The stadium is designed for 150,000 places. The main events of the World Youth Forum will be held here. [video shows guide pointing out something off-screen to Chebrikov, with other people looking on; Chebrikov standing in a group of people in middle of stadium]

The Soviet delegation also looked around the industrial and agricultural exhibition. Various machine tools, machines, and other products which had never previously been produced in Korea are exhibited there. Today the DPRK turns out more production in 1 day than in 1 year before liberation from the Japanese colonial yoke, and the rural toilers have increased the harvest of grain crops more than sevenfold in that time. [video shows Chebrikov and group viewing items of machinery in exhibition]

A ceremonial session devoted to the 40th anniversary of the formation of the DPRK took place in Pyongyang today. More than 300 delegations from 120 countries were present at it. Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee and president of the DPRK, spoke at the session. He summed up the results of socialist construction in past years and also talked about tasks for the future. [video shows Chebrikov sitting next to GDR Premier Stoph in presidium, Kim Il-song speaking, general shots of meeting]

Kim Il-song Speaks on 'Tasks'

LD0809225288 Moscow TASS in English 2233 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Pyongyang September 9 TASS—"The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) is the immense gain of the Korean revolution achieved during the hard struggle of many years for independence," said Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, president of the DPRK. Speaking at a meeting to mark the 40th anniversary of the DPRK founding here today, he summed up the results of socialist construction in the republic over four decades and dwelt on the tasks before the country.

The DPRK leader drew attention, in part, to the need to modernize the national economy and come to grips with questions of supplying the population with food and providing it with housing. It is planned significantly to increase the output of the most important types of products by the end of the third seven-year plan period (1987-1993), and to make a qualitative leap in raising the people's welfare.

To remove the danger of war and relieve tension on the Korean peninsula is the all-important issue and the indispensable condition for reunifying the homeland by peaceful means. The Korean people stands for concluding a peace treaty between the DPRK and the United States, for adopting a declaration on non-aggression between the North and the South, for withdrawing the U.S. troops with their nuclear weapons from South Korea and stage-by-stage and drastic reduction in the armed forces of both parts of the country. The United

States should respond to the proposal for conducting negotiations between the DPRK and the United States, proceeding from a sincere intention to solve the Korean question.

Touching on the problem of the North-South dialogue, Kim Il-song declared for a vigorous development of contacts and talks between the parties to involve not only leaders but also all political parties, public organizations and various segments of the population. These talks should discuss and solve primarily such issues as the adoption by the North and South are preserved.

The DPRK favours the consolidation of the relations of friendship and cooperation with all socialist countries and the Non-Aligned Movement, and also the development of goodneighbourly and friendly relations, economic and cultural cooperation with capitalist countries respecting the sovereignty of the republic, Kim Il-song said in conclusion.

Vorotnikov, Dobrynin at Celebration

LD0909111188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers have congratulated the leaders of the DPRK, Kim Il-song and Yi Kun-mo, on the 40th anniversary of the formation of the DPRK. The USSR, says the message, supports the efforts of the Republic's government aimed at turning the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone and at arranging inter-Korean dialogue. Consistently conducting this course is in accord with the aim of creating an all-embracing system of international security.

To mark the solemn date, there was a meeting in Moscow today of the working people's representatives. Present were Comrades Vorotnikov and Dobrynin, and heads of a number of ministries and departments, representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, and a delegation of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society as well as Kwan Hui-kyong, the Korean ambassador in the USSR. [video shows meeting with Vorotnikov and Dobrynin in presidium]

Soviet Leaders Send Greetings

PM0909143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers greetings message to DPRK leaders]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] and DPRK president

To Comrade Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administration Council

On the portentous jubilee—the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's formation—the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers send you, the WPK Central Committee, the Central People's Committee, the DPRK Administration Council, and the fraternal Korean people friendly greetings and cordial congratulations on behalf of Communists and all the Soviet people.

The creation of the DPRK—the first people's democratic state in Korean history—was a turning point in the Korean people's life and their many years of struggle for their national and social rebirth and opened up extensive prospects for movement along the road of progress. Soviet people sincerely welcome the achievements of the Republic's working people in the country's economic and social development. We are confident that the fulfillment by the Korean working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia of the third 7-Year Plan for developing the national economy will be an important new stage in the building of socialism in the DPRK.

The fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK have steadily developed in the last 4 decades. The links between our countries' labor collectives, public and creative organizations, and young people are becoming closer and closer. Guided by the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and striving to build all-around cooperation between socialist states, we will continue to do everything to bring our parties, countries, and peoples closer together on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, equal rights, and comradely mutual aid.

An urgent demand of present-day international life is the assertion of the new political thinking and the socialist states' increasingly active involvement in shaping peace policy. A constructive approach toward the settlement of the situation on the Korean peninsula based on national reconciliation and a balance of interests creates possibilities for safeguarding peace and stability in that area. The Soviet Union supports the DPRK Government's efforts aimed at turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, bringing about a U.S. troop withdrawal from the south of the peninsula, and organizing inter-Korean dialogue. The consistent implementation of this line accords with the goals of creating a comprehensive international security system and building a nonnuclear and nonviolent world.

On behalf of the Soviet people we wish you and DPRK working people new achievements in implementing the tasks set by the Sixth WPK Congress in reuniting the motherland on a peaceful democratic basis.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Yazov Greets DPRK Counterpart
PM0909131388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister Yazov greetings message to DPRK counterpart on 40th anniversary of DPRK]

[Text] To Comrade Vice Marshal of the Korean People's Army O Chin-u, DPRK minister of the People's Armed Forces

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

Personally and on behalf of the USSR Armed Forces I send you and Korean People's Army servicemen combat greetings and ardent congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's proclamation.

Soviet servicemen ardently hail the Korean people's achievements in building socialism and fulfilling the Sixth Workers Party of Korea Congress decisions and resolutely support their just struggle for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea and for the motherland's peaceful democratic unification.

On the national holiday I wish the Korean People's Army personnel new successes in combat and political training and in further strengthening the country's defense capability in the interests of ensuring peace and of the DPRK's prosperity.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

More on Envoy's Moscow Briefing
PM0809141188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Looking back over the path covered in the years of people's power, the people of the DPRK are entitled to be proud of their achievements in socialist building. Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassaador to the USSR, said this 6 September at a Moscow news conference. He was speaking to Soviet journalists in connection with the upcoming 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the DPRK. The ambassador noted the contribution of the USSR and the heroic Soviet Army to liberating his homeland from the foreign yoke. The Korean people, he said, value the support of the Soviet people, which they offered and are continuing to offer in building a new life, and prize Korean-Soviet friendship.

Those present were familiarized with the statement made by the DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman concerning the concentration of U.S., Japanese, and South Korean Armed Forces on the territory of the latter on the pretext of ensuring the security of the Olympics in Seoul. This is seen in the DPRK as an action geared toward exacerbating the situation in the region and toward further increasing the danger of outbreak of war.

More on Moscow Reception
PM0909132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people devoted to the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's formation was held on 8 September.

The presidium comprised V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; leaders of a number of ministries and departments; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations. Also present was a delegation from the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society headed by O Kil-pang, vice chairman of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society Central Committee.

The main speaker—V.G. Klyuyev, chairman of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society Central Board and USSR minister—and the other speakers said that the creation of the DPRK, the first people's democratic state in Korean history, was a determining event in the Korean people's destiny.

Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, noted that the Korean people's victory in their difficult independence struggle would have been inconceivable without the USSR's all-around aid and support. He made a high assessment of the Soviet Union's consistent course of strengthening general security, stressing that his country's people wholly support the Soviet initiative aimed at creating a zone of peace and good-neighborliness in Southeast Asia.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Gerasimov Calls Burmese Problems 'Internal'
BK0909074488 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Regarding a query about the state of affairs in Burma at a news conference held today at the Foreign Ministry's Information Department in Moscow, the Soviet Ministry spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, said that it was entirely an Burmese internal matter; the Burmese people alone can decide what system they want at home.

For us, the most important stand would be not to permit any interference from abroad. However, it is regrettable that such endeavors do exist. Any interference from outside will only complicate the process of normalizing the situation in the country and will be against Burmese national interests.

Regarding the Soviet stand, he said that the USSR has maintained its traditional friendly relations with Burma, and that it wants to see Burma as an independent, united, and prosperous state taking part in the cause for general peace and security.

Rogachev Receives Australian Party Delegation

LD0709214588 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev received on September 6 an Australian Liberal Party delegation, in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Presidium of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet.

They discussed issues of bilateral Soviet-Australian relations and topical international problems.

The USSR's policy directed at strengthening security, promoting mutually beneficial cooperation among states in the Asia-Pacific region and settling regional conflicts by political means was explained.

National Day Message Sent to Indonesia's Suharto

PM0809151188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Telegrams Exchanged"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers sent a telegram to Indonesian President Suharto in which they conveyed their congratulations and very best wishes to the head of state and all the Indonesian people on their national day—the 43d anniversary of the proclamation of Indonesian independence.

In answering telegrams on behalf of the Indonesian Government and people and from himself personally, President Suharto expressed sincere gratitude for the congratulations and wished the Soviet people prosperity.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Minister Discusses Security Situation

PM0909133188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Report by TASS special correspondents S. Kulik and Yu. Tyssovskiy on interview with Afghan Interior Minister S.M. Gulabzoy: "'We Look With Optimism to the Future.' TASS Special Correspondents Talk With S.M. Gulabzoy, Member of PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Afghan Minister of Interior"]

[Text] In the pages of the right-wing bourgeois press recently it has frequently been possible to encounter materials which cast doubt on the Afghan Army's combat ability and on the future of Afghanistan itself and of its territorial integrity following the completion of the first stage of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan. TASS special correspondents asked Colonel General Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Afghan minister of the interior, to comment on these fabrications, which are a constituent part of the anti-Afghan campaign being mounted by the West.

Of course, it cannot be said that present Afghan reality is free from problems, but we have every reason to look with optimism to the future, Comrade S.M. Gulabzoy said. Following the almost 18-month practice of national reconciliation, Geneva opened up the way to end the bloodshed, to eliminate the dangerous hotbed of regional tension, and to resolve a problem that has clouded the international situation for long years. Thus two currents of conciliation—internal and external—which are called upon to ensure peace around Afghanistan's borders, have, as it were, come together in a single channel. With the Soviet contingent's withdrawal the intransigent extremist groupings in the opposition camp have lost their chief trump card—the attempts to justify counterrevolutionary activity by referring to the notorious "jihad" against "Communists" and "infidels." The Afghan people saw off the Soviet internationalist servicemen as brothers in arms, protectors, and friends. During the stay of the limited contingent of Soviet troops on Afghan territory its personnel fulfilled their international duty with honor and helped to restore the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan and to enhance the moral and political awareness and combat qualities of soldiers and officers. Precisely this makes us confident that the Afghan Armed Forces are capable of independently defending the revolution's gains.

Nevertheless, the West has long been pushing extremely hard the fairytale that after the Soviet troops' departure the Afghan Army will be unable to maintain its present positions and keep control of the country. As an example I will cite, for instance, a statement by U.S. Under Secretary of State M. Armacost about "the constant worsening of the Kabul regime's position" and about alleged "captures of entire garrisons and district centers by the resistance forces."

In the interests of the truth let us note that increased activity by opposition armed formations has been observed in a number of demilitarized zones which they infiltrated from Pakistani territory. However, this is not the result of any rebel "victories" but attests to foul play by Islamabad. The promises of the leaders of the Peshawar "Seven" to take possession of the Provinces of Nangarhar, Qandahar, Zabul, and Vardak have not stood the test of time either.

Of course, we must not hush up the certain difficulties we are encountering in a number of regions, particularly in Konduz, in the north of the country. A sharp increase in the activity of armed formations has been observed there. I do not rule out the possibility that the number of such "hot" regions could even increase, because previously we were being helped by 50,000 Soviet servicemen, whereas now we have been left face to face with the regime's enemies in 26 out of 31 provinces.

We also must not disregard the fact that Pakistan is continuing its gross interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, supporting bandit formations and, what is more, expanding this support in every possible way. Nevertheless, we believe that the people's power will be able to defend the revolutionary transformations accomplished since April 1978.

First of all, in the military respect we possess sufficiently large armed forces, which have at their disposal the most modern weapons and have accumulated invaluable experience of combat operations under very complex conditions over the years of the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Of course, thanks to flexible tactics and the rapid redeployment of forces, the opposition detachments are able to cause us some complications of a temporary and local nature. But, on the whole, history attests that nowhere have uncoordinated formations of right-wing rebels ever been able to gain the upper hand over a regular army that enjoys popular support.

Now a few words about those who oppose us. The opposition, particularly its extremist section, is not something monolithic but is rent by very profound ideological contradictions and minor and major quarrels. Let us take the creation of the Peshawar "transitional" government. It certainly was not greeted unequivocally. Soon after its formation there appeared clear signs that this sorry "government" is not recognized by many so-called "field commanders," including those who formally belong to the "parties" involved in the "Alliance of Seven." They are clearly contemptuous of the Peshawar politicians, believing that the latter keep aloof from military operations and merely get rich by appropriating a considerable proportion of the funds sent to the "seven" from the West, as well as from a number of right-wing Arab regimes.

Moreover, some of them aspire to leading roles in a particular region and, to this end, throwing down an open challenge to the "chiefs" in Peshawar who call for unity in the antigovernment forces, enter into armed struggle with other opposition groupings. This applies primarily to commanders such as Ahmad Shah Mas'ud of Panjsher, Turan Ismail [name as published] of Herat, and Sayyed Jagran of Ghazni. While in no way regarding them as prospective supporters of the policy of national reconciliation, it has to be pointed out that their activity objectively helps to undermine the slogan of "Islamic unity."

Special mention should be made of the situation around Kabul. As the republic's capital, this city is a kind of center of gravity for terrorist acts by all opposition groupings. Why? Because a single missile fired on Kabul, where the missions of foreign states and international organizations are concentrated, elicits a far greater response throughout the world and ensures a weighty propaganda effect compared, let us say, with the concentrated shelling of some village or small population center. Realizing this, the counterrevolutionaries really did sharply intensify their criminal actions against Kabul at one time, and peaceful residents always became their victims. And this was accounted for, in particular, by the fact that the extremists had acquired missiles with a range in excess of the limits of Kabul's security zone. We have responded by taking effective steps recently to put a stop to the enemy's fanatical actions. In particular, we have begun creating a second regulated [rezhimnyy] security zone, which will embrace with a single belt the sectors around the capital within a radius of 30-40 km.

However, there are data attesting that extremists have already acquired missiles with a range of 50 km, supplied by their Western patrons. With assistance from official Islamabad, "death caravans" cross the Afghan-Pakistani border every day, transporting boxes stamped "NATO Arsenal."

I wish, however, to stipulate at once that there can be no question of any aimed launching of heavy types of missiles whatever. They are launched arbitrarily at the most densely populated regions in order to intimidate the population, create panic, and sow doubt as to the possibility of the government ensuring the safety of peaceful residents.

To this same end counterrevolutionary formations are stepping up the shelling of provincial centers in Zabul, Bamian, Konar, Qandahar, Kapisa, Vardak, and a number of other regions of Afghanistan. Of course, all this is complicating the situation in the country and exacerbating economic problems. But—and I state this with full responsibility—the enemies of the revolution cannot do more. What is more, the barbarous methods to which the "intransigents" resort convince all sober-minded Afghans that the policy of national reconciliation advanced by the party and the government accords with the vital interests of all sections of society.

Afghanistan Protests Pakistani Airspace Violation

LD0809192588 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 8 TASS—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan today expressed serious protest following a fresh unfriendly act by Pakistan. Pakistan's charge d'affaires ad interim in the Republic of Afghanistan, BAKHTAR news agency reports, was notified that at 17:00 on September 7 two F-16 planes of the Pakistani Air Force violated Afghanistan's airspace in the area of Asmar, Konar Province. After making a reconnaissance overflight of Afghan territory, the Pakistani warplanes left Afghanistan's airspace. The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan stressed that that act represented a deliberate violation of the Geneva agreements and interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. The Republic of Afghanistan demands the cessation of actions which negatively affect the bilateral relations. Entire responsibility for their recurrence in future will rest on the Pakistani side.

Also today the 77th and 78th notes of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan were conveyed to the U.N. observer mission in Kabul. The first of them calls attention of the U.N. observers to the facts of ungrounded accusations by the Pakistani side against Afghanistan. The note says that allegations about the bombing raid by Afghan planes on the territory of Pakistan cannot be confirmed by anything. The Pakistani Government alleges that one of the five aircraft has been downed but refuses to show the wreckage to the U.N. representatives. It is absolutely clear, the document runs, that the charges are part of the anti-Afghan campaign which Pakistan has launched on the eve of the non-aligned foreign ministers' conference in Nicosia.

In the notes the Foreign Ministry asks the U.N. mission to study the evidence provided and to inform a representative of the U.N. secretary general and the Afghan Government on its findings.

AWACS Request Behind 'Anti-Afghan Outcry'

LD0809164588 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—By TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov:

There has been a fresh upsurge in the anti-Afghan propaganda campaign inspired by Washington's and Islamabad's official circles. In the course of a week the mass media have thrice accused Afghanistan of violating the Geneva accords by claiming that Afghan Airforce planes invaded Pakistan's airspace and bombed Pakistani villages, which resulted in casualties among the peaceful population.

The check on these allegations has demonstrated that the charges are a fresh fraud. The Pakistani authorities failed to produce any evidence to the U.N. inspection team, who arrived in the area of "bombing". There was nothing to prove the national identity of bomb splinters. A 70-year old man allegedly killed in an air raid proved to be buried and the causes of his death remained unknown. Neither could the U.N. inspectors meet with the persons allegedly injured during the raid, they were, as the Pakistani side said, released from hospital.

It is now even hard to determine who initiated the fabrications—Washington or Islamabad. These reports, which are most often confused and controversial appeared in both capitals. But this is not the point.

The above-said charges are a sheer lie, a crudely fabricated provocative action. The obvious aims of that fresh propaganda campaign are to impede the positive processes of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, to create an atmosphere of confrontation between the two neighbour states, intimidate Afghan refugees and thus prevent them from returning home.

In accusing the Kabul authorities of violating the Geneva accords, Islamabad and Washington are thus trying to put up a smokescreen to conceal their own violations. And there are plenty of them. The Kabul side has registered 439 specific violations which can be proved by undeniable facts and figures. Among them is the continuing dispatch of U.S. weapons to the elements of armed opposition both via Pakistan or even directly, the training in Pakistan's territory of new detachments of militants and the direct participation of Pakistani Armed Forces and paramilitary detachments of the militias in combat operations against the Afghan Army.

There is one more cause behind the fresh anti-Afghan outcry. It can be judged by the following fact: The Pakistani Senate was told by Defence Minister Mahmud A. Haroon that Pakistan has again requested the USA to supply the advanced AWACS spy planes allegedly for ensuring the country's safety from the invasion of the Afghan Airforce.

Isn't it high time to put an end to such provocations, evaluate the situation soberly and in a businesslike manner and start, at last, a strict observance of the Geneva accords, since an end to interference in Afghanistan's home affairs is the sole way leading to peace and concord in Afghanistan and tranquility in the whole of that region.

Commentary on Pakistani 'Accusations' Cited

LD0809130288 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 8 TASS—Since the enactment of the Geneva agreements the world public has witnessed Pakistan creating obstacles to settlement of the Afghanistan situation, the BAKHTAR news agency says in its commentary, which has been distributed here in connection with a new wave of anti-Afghan propaganda outcry, raised by Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan on the eve of the opening of the conference of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries in Nicosia.

Irrefutable facts of Pakistan's non-compliance with its obligations on the Geneva agreements are confirmed even by government sources of information of that country. Over 430 such facts are also reflected in the Afghan Government's notes sent to the U.N. missions in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

A huge quantity of weapons, including heavy ones, has been sent by Islamabad to the territory of Afghanistan in the past few months. Foreign military advisers and journalists illegally cross over the Pakistani-Afghan frontier on a regular basis. It is known that two battalions from the Pakistani frontier tribal formations took a direct part in battles in the Konar Province, the commentary says.

In a bid to camouflage its unseemly part in the heightening of tension around Afghanistan, Pakistan does not disdain to circulate groundless accusations against the Republic of Afghanistan. The latest of such frauds says that Afghan war planes bombed settlements on Pakistan's territory, which led to human losses. But there are no data as to which state belonged the planes which made the bombing. Nobody saw victims of "the bomb strike". Statements of the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan and materials of Pakistani press give different information as to the names and location of the kishlaks that have been hit.

The enactment of the Geneva agreements and the beginning of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops was received with joy by the Afghan people, the peace-loving progressive public of the region and the world who qualified the event as a good example of settlement of regional conflicts through a dialogue. The withdrawal of 50 per cent of the Soviet troops by August 15 has been yet another confirmation of Afghanistan's and the USSR's honouring their obligations. This objective reality is the best answer to the unfounded statements of the foreign minister of Pakistan concerning Afghanistan's violations of provisions of the Geneva agreements, the BAKHTAR news agency says.

Afghan Transport Plane Downed by Stinger

LD0909085888 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 9 TASS—A U.S.-made Stinger rocket hit an Afghan Air Force transport plane, AN-32, yesterday, killing 16 people.

The plane was downed by insurgents near the city of Konduz, BAKHTAR news agency reported today.

Among 12 passengers on board the plane were Maj.-Gen. M.I. Nuri, ammunition supply chief at the Afghan Defence Ministry, Maj.-Gen. A.A. Razmenda, first deputy chief prosecutor of the armed forces, and Col. M. Hasan, chief of the political department of the territorial troops at the republic's Defence Ministry.

Four crew members are among the casualties.

Afghan Tribal Assembly Condemns Rebel Action

LD0809154188 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 8 TASS—Jirgahs of tribes and meetings of the population in support of the national reconciliation policy were held in a number of Afghanistan's provinces on Wednesday. The participants in the jirgahs of the inhabitants of the city of Gardeyz and the area of Rude-Ahmajai [placename as received] (Paktia Province) strongly condemned the terrorist actions by opposition firing rocket projectiles against populated localities. Movement of some Baluchi tribes resident in Nimruz Province have committed themselves to maintain security in the areas of their settlement. The jirgah of Baluchi representatives held in the city of Zaranj passed the decision to form self-defence detachments.

A scheduled (?meeting of the) Presidium of the Supreme Emergency Commission for National Reconciliation was held in Kabul. Its participants passed decision on transforming all of the reconciliation commissions in the country—from the village to the supreme one—into councils. The Presidium passed a decision on ending the publication of the journal of the Supreme Emergency Commission for National Reconciliation "THE PEACE VOICE" in connection with the start of the issue of the publication of the Ministry for the Affairs of Refugees "THE VOICE OF THE HOME COUNTRY." The meeting discussed questions pertaining to the amnesty of a number of categories of prisoners.

Members of Kabul's security bodies have uncovered seven kg of TNT brought by extremists into the Afghan capital. The explosives were designed for blowing up a power generating plant in Hudheil [placename as received] area.

Afghan Army units actively supported by the local population carried out an operation for repelling the offensive of anti-government groups against the district centre of Nahr-e Saraj (Helmand Province). The rebels who used heavy weapons were trying to invade the populated locality for the plunder of its inhabitants. Yet as a result of the counter-attack by Afghan Army men the rebels were forced to retreat, leaving behind more than 120 persons killed and the same number wounded. The mopping up of the outskirts of Konduz from the gangs, which withdrew from the city after it was freed by the Afghan Army, is continuing. In Kuchi-Wazaheil [placename as received] area 17 extremists were killed and weapons belonging to them were captured.

In violation of the Geneva accords caravans with weapons and ammunition for anti-government elements continue penetrating, as before, Afghanistan from Pakistan's territory. According to reports reaching here, in the course of two days—August 29 and 30 alone, such caravans arrived in Herat, Konar, Nangarhar and Badghis Provinces. Large batches of rocket projectiles and anti-aircraft missiles Stinger made in the USA as well as other weapons have been delivered to the rebels. Taking part in their combat operations on the side of the anti-government troops are foreign advisers. Thus a group of ten advisers penetrated Lowgar Province the other day, and another four penetrated Samangan. Another four instructions—Arab and Pakistani ones—

arrived in Kapisa Province for the photography of military facilities and security posts. Along with military experts, representatives of the Western mass media illegally penetrate along with army experts the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan. Thus staying in Herat Province together with a team of military instructors from the FRG are several West German newspaper photographers who intend to film attacks by rebels against security posts in the provincial centre.

Pakistan, which crudely violates the Geneva accords, is preventing the return of Afghan refugees home. They are in particular banned from visiting the border areas. Despite the obstacles many Afghans wish to return home whatever the effort. In Chaman area (Pakistan), up to 6,000 refugees are staying now. They intend to cross the border. Late in August 2,000 Afghans were trying to return home via Spin Buldak District in Qandahar Province, yet they were forced give up their intention because of the stepped up military operations in that area by rebel troops. Last Tuesday alone some 150 people returned from Pakistan to Qandahar Province. A total of 8,000 refugees have gone through that area over the time after the signing of the Geneva accords.

Vorontsov Receives Iranian Ambassador 8 Sep

LD0809181888 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minster, has received today Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR Naser Heirani-Nobari at his request. Views were exchanged in connection with the situation obtaining in the political settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict. The discussions also covered questions pertaining to a further development of Soviet-Iranian relations.

Persian Beam Comments on Iran-Iraq Peace Talks

NC0709121288 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Many of the world's mass media assess the situation at the Iran-Iraq talks under UN auspices in Geneva as critical. Our commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

I do not want to hastily make such a pessimistic forecast. Undoubtedly, the situation at the talks is not simple. The two sides have conflicting stands on many issues. Jan Eliasson, the UN secretary general's representative, believes that it is still too soon to talk about progress in the negotiations.

All of this is correct. However, could we have expected some other development at the talks? One could not have seriously expected that talks lasting less than 2 weeks could solve all the problems that have accumulated during the entire period of the meaningless bloodshed. Nor could anyone have expected the talks to so quickly have eliminated the mistrust and even hatred between the two sides. Naturally, the two sides should display patience and good will. But can we hope that this will happen?

Our commentator writes: I believe that we can and should. Could anyone have foretold 2 months ago that the war would have ended between Iran and Iraq anytime soon? Nevertheless, a cease-fire was established between the two countries.

As important as the efforts by the United Nations, the Security Council, and the UN secretary general may be, the cessation of the war would not have been possible without both sides making a realistic assessment of the existing situation. This, in my opinion, allows us to assume that realism finally won.

Our commentator adds: I want to express my view. In my opinion neither side should make [word indistinct] claims and consider itself a victor in the achievement of this end. A great number of deaths and extensive material damages—this is the outcome of the Iran-Iraq war. Under such a condition, it is impossible to determine a victor. Was there a victor at all in this war?

Aleksandr Pogodin writes in conclusion: The possibility now exists of an end to this war, which has not only created an extremely dangerous situation in the Persian Gulf, but also has become a potentially explosive element on a world scale. The good will by the countries involved in this war in particular, and the efforts by the world's nations in general, could and should extinguish the fire of this dangerous hotbed.

Commentator Views GCC Stand on Iran-Iraq War

NC0709122788 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1800 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Text] The conference of the foreign ministers of the six GCC member states has ended in Riyadh. The situation created in the region with the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war was at the center of the attention of the GCC foreign ministers. Our commentator, Igor Sheftunov, writes the following on this:

Since its formation almost 8 years ago, the GCC has exerted persistent efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war. At one of the first conferences of the GCC foreign ministers, it was emphasized that the organization's major policy was these efforts. (?As was stated at that time,) the Iran-Iraq war greatly harms not only the two countries involved but all the regional countries as well.

The hundreds of tankers and other ships that were attacked in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq war were primarily ships carrying goods to the Arab states of the Persian Gulf. The Iran-Iraq war led to the great exacerbation of (?tensions), which in turn led to the increase in the military expenditures of the Persian Gulf countries. The tense situation in the Persian Gulf resulted in the exacerbation of the regional countries' economic situation and (?threatened) security.

The United States and the other NATO members used the Iran-Iraq war as a pretext to increase their military presence in the region and persistently tried, at the [word indistinct] moment, to place the Persian Gulf under their domination. The GCC members repeatedly expressed their concern over this.

Resolution 598 issued by the UN Security Council on ending the Iran-Iraq conflict was an important step toward the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf. At the end of their summit last year, the GCC members stated that they were ready to help the UN secretary general in every way to realize the rapid implementation of the said resolution. In this connection GCC representatives visited Tehran and Baghdad, where they held talks which had positive affects on [words indistinct].

(?Since the start) of the Iran-Iraq talks in Geneva following the cessation of war operations, the GCC has continued to support the UN's mediation effors. The GCC foreign ministers' conference that ended recently in Riyadh, decided to send a special representative to Geneva in order to aid the progress of the Iran-Iraq negotiations. The GCC foreign ministers stressed in their final communique that the implementation of Resolution 598 will lead to the establishment of peace in the Persian Gulf and that this meets the interests of all the regional countries.

Messages Exchanged With Morocco on Anniversary

PM0809154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the Kingdom of Morocco, the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs and cooperation exchanged congratulatory telegrams.

The USSR Foreign Ministry's telegram expresses the hope that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation which exist between the two countries and their collaboration in the international arena in the spirit of the new political thinking will continue to develop in the future for the good of the Soviet and the Moroccan peoples and in the interests of universal peace and international security.

The telegram addressed by A. Filali, Moroccan minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, to E.A. Shevardnadze notes that the establishment of peace throughout the world is a constant concern of Morocco and the USSR. Welcoming the process of eliminating existing flashpoints of tension, the Moroccan minister highly appraises the role played by the Soviet Union in the settlement of regional conflicts. The minister makes a positive assessment of the results of the 30 years of Soviet-Moroccan cooperation and expresses the hope that this cooperation will be further strengthened.

Libya Abolishes Regular Army, State Firms

PM0909102788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Army Disbandment Announced"]

[Text] Quoting JANA, AFP has reported that on 31 August Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, announced the "disbandment of the regular army and the traditional police" and the establishment of popular armed formations.

According to data supplied by London's International Institute for Strategic Studies, the strength of the Libyan armed forces amounts to 76,500 and, in addition to this, the people's militia has some 40,000 reservists. Discussing the measures concerning the army and the police, the Libyan leader did not say what the future holds for the military servicemen.

Following a statement by Al-Qadhdhafi, as of 1 September all state import and export companies have been abolished, because all sectors of production must be directly in the hands of the people. In his speech on the 19th anniversary of the monarchy's overthrow Al-Qadhdhafi also condemned the world currency system based on the U.S. dollar, stressing that the reason for many countries' economic disorders lies in this.

In the last few months, news agencies note, Col al-Qadhdhafi has taken a whole series of "liberalization" measures, announcing, in particular, an amnesty for prisoners in Libya and giving all people of Arab descent free entry into the country without any formalities.

IZVESTIYA Reports on Sudan Flood Disaster

PM0809144788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[D. Velikiy report: "Sudan's Difficult Times"]

[Text] Cairo—This year has really brought nothing but trouble to Sudan, Egyptian newspapers are writing. And it is difficult to disagree with this.

After the meningitis epidemic that broke out in spring and claimed thousands of lives, the biggest country in Africa has been hit by floods that have risen higher than the sinister record of 1946. The situation is being further exacerbated by swarms of locusts that wreak havoc on a territory covering around half a million hectares.

The natural calamities afflicting Sudan are vividly depicted in the world press. In my view, the country's prime minister, Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, has said the Western press is presenting a distorted rather than an objective picture of these calamities, which has induced the Sudanese Government to recently introduce censorship on foreign correspondents' reports on the situation in the country.

The objective picture supplied officially by SUNA, the Sudanese news agency, and members of the government is the following: According to the minister of irrigation and water resources, the floods are expected to rise sharply in northern parts of the country. As a result of a lack of communications between regions, it has so far not been possible to accurately establish how many victims the floods have claimed.

In an interview to the Egyptian newspaper AL-SHA'B, the Sudanese minister of communications has said that 99 islands and 21 villages are under water and that 72,000 families have been evacuated from the disaster zones.

According to the press, as a result of the flooding of the Nile, many parts of Khartoum are under water. Volunteers are building dams which, however, are washed away by the flood waters in a matter of minutes. Communications are disrupted and there is an acute shortage of fuel and food, prices for which have jumped incredibly. The danger of epidemics is mounting. According to the Ministry of Health, the cause of death of seven inhabitants of the capital could have been cholera.

Representatives of an international charity organization operating in Sudan have declared that if the water level continues to rise and the White and the Blue Nile burst their banks, it will be impossible to avoid a catastrophe in Khartoum. According to their estimates, around 1 million people in the Sudanese capital have been made homeless. The organization has calculated that $4 million worth of tents, provisions, water, and medicines are needed per every 25,000 people to ensure their survival for 2 months.

Three other charity organizations are supplying aid to the 1 million people in Khartoum, but there are another 1.5 million flood victims outside the capital who are yet to be provided with aid.

Specialized, state, and public organizations in many countries are sending aircraft with aid to disaster-struck Sudan. Meanwhile, according to AL-SHA'B, the United States and Britain are trying to foist on the Sudanese Government conditions that would assure them full control over the distribution of aid with a view to exploiting it for their political purposes. However, the newspaper writes, these tactics have been rejected by the Sudanese Government on the grounds that they infringe national sovereignty.

The same newspaper writes that the disaster has not embittered the Sudanese, but rather brought them closer together. People welcome rescued flood victims into their homes and share their last piece of bread with them. However, the latest reports indicate that if today "the last piece of bread" is partly symbolic, it may be absent altogether tomorrow, since, according to the country's prime minister, the swarms of locusts have become so active that they are threatening the remainder of the Sudanese harvest.

PLO Representative Interviewed on 'Uprising'

PM0809092788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Nabil 'Amr, PLO extraordinary representative in Moscow, by own correspondent B. Ivanov: "The Palestinian Question: New Situation"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Ivanov] The Palestinian uprising on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip is into its 9th month. Judging by recent reports, the situation there remains extremely tense. As before, the blood of innocent citizens is being shed and thousands of people have been thrown into jails and concentration camps. But the action by the Arab population in the occupied territories is not abating. How do you regard the present situation there and what, in your view, will be the future development of events?

['Amr] The uprising is continuing to develop. The Palestinian actions have not let up for a single day. The discipline and organized actions of those involved in the uprising have totally shattered the myth that the actions flared up spontaneously and could, therefore, end as suddenly as they began. Claims like these, which filled many Western newspapers a few months ago, pursued one aim only: to discredit the Palestinian struggle and weaken its support in other countries. These calculations have failed, however. Now, I think, no one has any doubts any more that the uprising has been orchestrated from the very outset by the PLO and continues to be so. All the Palestinian actions are planned and directed by the Uprising Unified National Command, which operates in close liaison with the PLO and on its behalf. All strata of the Palestinian people—students and young people, workers and peasants, employees and tradesmen, Muslims and Christians—are taking part in the uprising. The Israeli troops have proved unable to control the development of events in the occupied territories.

Incidentally, I must explain one aspect of considerable importance. I am referring to the victims of the Israeli tyranny in the occupied territories. The Western mass media constantly understate their number. The PLO, however, has collected detailed information on all casualties on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. From the time the action began through to the present day 435 Palestinians have been killed. Some 23,000 have been injured and almost 30,000 thrown into jails and camps.

[Ivanov] Will the occupiers' repressions not lead to the Palestinians taking up arms?

['Amr] In my opinion, the success of the uprising has largely been achieved thanks to its peaceful forms and methods. The strikes, demonstrations, boycott of the occupying power's instructions, and other acts of civil disobedience arouse sympathy and support for the Palestinian cause in many countries throughout the world. That is why the leadership of the uprising still prohibits the use of weapons, apart from, true, the use of stones and petrol bombs. I think that the use of weapons, by contrast, would lead on the one hand to a sharp increase in the number of casualties among the insurgents and on the other to a decrease in their political influence.

[Ivanov] But we can now say that the participants in the uprising have undoubtedly succeeded in one thing at least—they have once again drawn world public attention to the Palestinian problem as the central problem in the Near East...

['Amr] Yes, and as a consequence of this a whole series of new factors have arisen which directly or indirectly affect the disposition of forces in the Near East region.

First of all, as I see it, Israel has become increasingly aware of its own powerlessness to solve the problem of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by military means. Israeli politicians and public figures, journalists, and even members of the military are increasingly often urging their government to seek a political solution to the situation that has arisen.

The uprising is also leaving its mark on the United States. Washington's constant diplomatic activity shows that the U.S. Administration is also trying to find some pretext for seeking new ways to solve the Palestinian problem.

The majority of West European states have spoken in favor of convening an international conference on the Near East.

The June pan-Arab summit conference in Algiers reaffirmed the role of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, and all the participants in the conference pledged to do their utmost to support the uprising in the occupied territories.

And, finally, the recent accord on a cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front must lead to a change in the role played by Baghdad in the Arab world.

[Ivanov] Evidently Jordan's decision to terminate legal and administrative ties with the West Bank of the Jordan River must also be counted among the new features in the situation?

['Amr] Of course. This is a very important factor. In the new situation the PLO has assumed full responsibility for the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and filled the "vacuum" created by King Husayn's decision. The question of the form this responsibility will take—whether a Palestinian state will be proclaimed, for example, and a government-in-exile formed—is now being discussed. Representatives of the PLO leadership are holding consultations with the governments of Arab countries in light of the qualitatively new situation in the region. The final decision on this issue will be made, however, at the next session of the Palestine National Council (PNC) (parliament in exile), obviously to be held in September.

One more thing. The West is currently writing a great deal on the subject of how King Husayn's action was allegedly dictated by the desire to show that the PLO cannot manage without Jordan. I would like to make it clear that this is not so. In our view, the reverse is true: Amman's actions have once again shown everyone that the PLO is still the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people and that it must be a partner with full rights in any scenarios for reaching a settlement on the Palestinian problem. The existence of any crisis features between the PLO and Jordan should not be exaggerated. We are a united people and have common interests. The PLO intends to continue its dialogue with Jordan, particularly in light of the need for broad support for the uprising.

[Ivanov] WAFA recently reported that, by decision of the Palestinian leadership, the West Bank of the Jordan will henceforth be known as the "Palestinian Bank." What has prompted this?

['Amr] The West Bank is a purely geographical name. The fact of the matter is that this area is the territory of historical Palestine where, in accordance with the well-known UN decision, a Palestinian state must be formed. Consequently, this step can be seen as an appeal for the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

Friendship With Jordan Celebrated in Ukraine

AU0709140488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Sep 88 p 4

[RATAU report: "The USSR and Jordan: Inauguration of Friendship Days"]

[Excerpts] Based on the principle of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, relations between the Soviet Union and Jordan are successfully developing in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. This was noted at a solemn public meeting held in Kiev on 1 September to inaugurate the Soviet-Jordanian friendship days. V.P. Osnach, chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, opened the meeting.

G.M. Menzheres, Kiev Gorispolkom deputy chairman, greeted the participants.

P.P. Volkov, Ukrainian SSR minister of transportation, emphasized in his report that the friendship days not only manifested the aspiration of our peoples to exchange cultural and spiritual values, but also provided an opportunity to evaluate the state of and prospects for Soviet-Jordanian relations. They have been dynamically developing for the 25 years since the establishment of Soviet-Jordanian diplomatic relations, and have encompassed the trade and economic, technical, scientific, and other spheres. Owing to the efforts of the two sides, the positions of the Soviet Union and Jordan on basic international problems and on the preservation of peace have become identical.

The speaker described Soviet-Jordanian cooperation in the economic and other fields with the active participation of the Ukrainian SSR. [passage omitted]

The meeting was addressed by Senator Bahjad Talhuni, chairman of the board of the Jordanian-Soviet Friendship Society and head of the Jordanian public delegation. The holding of friendship days in our countries, he said, is excellent proof of strengthening Jordanian-Soviet relations. Exchanging delegations and information is precisely what helps our peoples to get to know each other better, learn each other's history and learn various aspects of their lives and activity. Similar friendship days were observed in Jordan last year when we received our Ukrainian friends. They were able to perceive the warm feelings cherished by the Jordanians for the Soviet people.

Recently, the speaker said, we commemorated the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries. Their political aspects go back to 1967 when the Israeli aggression was carried out. It was precisely then that the Arabs saw who their real friend was. The constructive and just position of the USSR, a position always aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Mideastern problem, delights all Arabs. The firm and immutable line adopted by our countries to maintain good relations was brilliantly manifested by M.S. Gorbachev's Moscow meeting with King Husayn in December 1987.

In inaugurating the Jordanian-Soviet friendship days, the delegation leader continued, we would like to do justice to those Soviet people who died in the struggle against fascism. We know about the heroic struggle waged by the Ukrainian people, shoulder to shoulder with all Soviet peoples, for the freedom and independence of their homeland. We know the price paid for the victory. This is why we understand well the Soviet people's aspiration for peace, and in this respect we are at one with them.

The meeting was attended by V.G. Urchukin, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; leaders of a number of the republic's ministries and departments; and representatives of party, administrative, and public organizations. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet, Qatar Exchange Telegrams

LD0609152588 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Khalifah ibn Hamad al-Thani, amir of the state of Qatar, exchanged congratulatory telegrams on the occasion of the national holiday of the state of Qatar—the 17th anniversary of independence day.

The telegram by the Presidium of ithe USSR Supreme Soviet expresses the hope that the establishment of diplomatic relations will enhance confidence and mutual understanding between our states and boost ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Qatar, which are based on equality and mutual benefit.

In the reply telegram Al-Thani, amir of Qatar, extended on behalf of the people and the Government of Qatar and on his own behalf thanks for the congratulations and spoke out for a further development of friendly relations and bonds of cooperation between the two countries.

King of Nepal Sends Thanks for Condolences

PM0809140188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Gratitude for Condolences"]

[Text] A telegram has been received by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium from Nepal's King Birendra expressing sincere gratitude for the condolences that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent in connection with the recent earthquake that took place in the eastern regions of Nepal causing great human casualties and destruction.

Sub-Saharan Africa

IZVESTIYA Reports on Southern Africa Talks

PM0809102588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent M. Pavlov dispatch: "Namibia. Considering Everyone's Interests"]

[Text] Luanda—The talks in Brazzaville between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA with U.S. mediation occurred in a complex situation and did not enable the proposed results to be attained—that is how observers assess the meeting that has just ended in the Congolese capital.

As was announced earlier, the central question was the discussion of the schedule for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. In the course of the meeting, Angola and Cuba proposed to implement this process within 4 years; however, the United States and the RSA deemed the aforementioned period unacceptable and submitted their own demands. In particular, Washington insisted that the Cubans and Pretoria leave Angola within 18 and 12 months respectively. Luanda and Havana rejected these demands as groundless inasmuch as the rapid withdrawal of Cuban troops without the provision of security guarantees for Angola may place the country in a difficult position in view of the incessant comprehensive aid accorded the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], although the RSA has indeed abandoned armed actions against the independent state. This danger is very real, especially if you take into consideration the statement made by Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs and head of the U.S. delegation at the quadrapartite talks on problems of southern Africa, to the effect that the United States will continue to aid UNITA. Washington and Pretoria's unconstructive position has not enabled the talks' participants to arrive at a common denominator, although an accord has been reached to continue these talks in Brazzaville on 5 September at the level of experts.

The question of the Cuban troop withdrawal remains a stumbling block to a peace settlement in Namibia but there are, nonetheless, positive changes in this process. So, according to Angolan national television, a joint Angolan-Cuban-South African military commission has just been set up to monitor the situation on the Angolan-Namibian border and to observe the withdrawal from Angola of RSA troops, which under the Geneva accords must leave this country's territory before 1 September this year. (It has just been reported that the troop withdrawal has been completed—IZVESTIYA editorial office.) Thus, one of Luanda's four main demands—known under the title of the "Angolan Platform" for a settlement in South-West Africa—will have been met. The other demands concern the cessation of all RSA aggressive actions against Angola and also of any aid to UNITA, and the practical implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 granting independence to Namibia. As for the aid to UNITA, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos noted in a recent speech the presence of partial understanding on this question with the RSA and the complete lack of the same with the United States, confirmed by Crocker's aforementioned statement in Brazzaville.

Despite the difficulties noted, the peace settlement process in the southern part of the African Continent retains definite movement and remains the central event for its peoples. This was illustrated by the just-ended visit to Angola by Moussa Traore, president of the OAU and Malian president. Traore positively assessed the quadrapartite talks being held, expressed solidarity with Africans struggling for their independence, and advocated the speediest application of UN Security Council Resolution 435 without any amendments.

Malagasy Premier Receives CPSU Delegation

PM0809141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Antananarivo, 7 Sep—Victor Ramahatra, prime minister of Madagascar, received Tuesday the CPSU delegation headed by M.S. Mendybayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Alma-Ata Kazakh CPSU Obkom, which is visiting here.

We have been following attentively the processes of profound change in the Soviet Union, the Malagasy Government head said during the conversation. The experience of restructuring and the radical reforms in the USSR are of great significance. It is useful to our country and to other states following the path of progressive transformations.

The consistency and firmness of the CPSU's political line, which is being confidently implemented by its leadership, arouse admiration, V. Ramahatra said. I would also like to emphasize that excellent relations of cooperation exist between our countries.

Ghanaian Official Receives CPSU Visitors

PM0809134388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Sep 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ties Expanding"]

[Text] Accra, 6 Sep—On Monday Kojo Tsikata, member of Ghana's Provisional National Defense Council [PNDC], received a CPSU delegation headed by G.A. Posibeyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Mari CPSU Obkom. The delegation visited Ghana under the plan for CPSU-PNDC ties.

On behalf of the country's leadership the PNDC representative voiced confidence that the CPSU delegation's visit will promote the further strengthening of friendly relations between the USSR and Ghana. We wish the CPSU and the entire Soviet people, he said, successes on the paths of restructuring and new political thinking in the international arena.

During the meeting the delegation members briefed the Ghanaian side on the CPSU's activity in implementing the 19th all-union party conference decisions, on the progress of restructuring in the USSR, and on the party's work in revealing socialism's potential most fully.

The CPSU delegation left for home the same day.

The CPSU delegation headed by G.A. Posibeyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Mari CPSU Obkom, has returned to Moscow from the Republic of Ghana.

Zimbabwean Parliamentarians Arrive for Visit

PM0809140988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation from the Zimbabwean Parliament headed by N. Makombe, president of the Senate, arrived in Moscow 6 September on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation was greeted at the airport by A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, A.I. Bolshakov, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and other officials.

The reception party included M.J.M. Sibanda, Zimbabwean ambassador to the USSR.

East Europe

Gerasimov Meets With Hungarian Journalists

LD0809201988 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's section of information, who is in Hungary on a working visit at the invitation of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met senior Hungarian foreign policy journalists at a roundtable discussion and responded to questions.

During the discussion, which touched on several subjects, he explained, responding to questions on the relation of perestroyka and Soviet foreign policy, that it is precisely in the field of foreign policy where the matter-of-fact and practical results of perestroyka emerge. As an illustration, the spokesman mentioned the development of Soviet-U.S. relations, the first agreement leading to nuclear disarmament steps, troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations, the implementation of the principle of equality of socialist countries amongst one another, and the "rediscovery" of vast regions of the world, such as South America. Gerasimov also gave his opinion on Soviet foreign policy journalism. As he said, foreign policy journalists started transforming their work rather belatedly; in previous decades, their work had been characterized by the simplified and superficial coverage of events and proceedings. Correspondents working in socialist countries were in a particularly difficult position, since, for a long time, they had only been allowed to write articles with "positive tones". Now they were being encouraged to select issues boldly, but undoubtedly in some socialist countries, press publications were still considered as a sort of official opinion, and this was not supporting the work of local correspondents. The Soviet Foreign Ministry had broken away with this approach and intended to help, not control, foreign policy correspondents.

On Soviet-Chinese relations, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, amongst other things, that his country had made efforts fully to restore contacts, including party contacts, and a summit of top leaders of the two countries was considered desirable. At the same time, he said the organization of such a meeting should not be linked to the solution of certain problems.

He went on to say that Soviet foreign policy was no longer placing emphasis on antagonistic conflicts, owing to the recognition that common interests are always present in relations, such as finding solutions to global problems or the avoidance of nuclear war.

There was no point in making theoretical debates about systems, he remarked, since it had been recognized a long time ago that the world could not simply be divided into two camps and painted black and white. Even more so recalling Lenin's idea that socialism would prove its dominance by force of economic example, because, at the moment in this debate, the socialist world would seem to be on the losing side.

"We endorse the national efforts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, but only so long as these symptoms do not grow into nationalism or separatism," he emphasized, responding to a question. Such efforts could be seen in the Baltic republics, too, but, in his view, in these cases nationalism was not the issue. Rather, it was an interesting experiment, in which promising plans were involved, such as the idea of boosting the republics' economic independence and self-accounting economies.

Gennadiy Gerasimov described the pluralism of opinions in high levels of the Soviet leadership as "natural". As he said, at the recent party conference, different views had been expressed with complete openness and even personal debates been aired. He called it understandable that the opinion of those who found criticism of the Stalin era exaggerated had also been made public in the Soviet press. "In their view, this criticism might undermine the foundations of socialism, but in my view, it was simply done by Stalin when he completely destroyed Lenin's associates in the October Revolution. Psychologically, it is understandable that, in old age, a lot of people are unable to grasp the removal of idols and others are scared that if the wave of criticism continues, it may affect their positions, too."

Hungary Debates Bills on Public Rights

PM0809131288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent B. Rodionov dispatch: "Hungary: Nationwide Discussion"]

[Text] Budapest—Nationwide discussion of two important draft laws—on the right of assembly and the right of association—has begun in Hungary.

These documents were drafted within the framework of proposed constitutional reform on the basis of the principles approved by the MSZMP Central Committee July Plenum.

While guaranteeing the freedom of assembly (demonstrations) and of association, the drafts provide for the impermissibility of infringements of state and public security, public order and morality, and other citizens rights and freedoms. Prohibitions remain in force against any activity aimed against the constitutional order, territorial integrity, and alliance ties of the Hungarian People's Republic, against national, racial, or religious discrimination, and against incitement to war.

The organizers of any assembly (demonstration) to be attended by more than 200 persons must give the authorities 5 days notice, including detailed information about the forthcoming event. In the event of prohibition by the authorities, they can appeal to the court. A fine of up to 10,000 forints (approximately R550) is envisaged for holding unauthorized events.

As regards the registration of public organizations—associations—the draft provides for a minimum of 10 founder members, while the establishment of a mass organization requires at least 1,000 members. Any objectives may be laid down in the statutes provided they are not unlawful. Registration cannot be refused provided the laws have not been breached. Whenever necessary, the activity of public organizations can be regulated by the court, and leaders can be punished with up to 1 year's imprisonment for unlawful actions. At the same time, any official who obstructs the exercise of the right to assembly and association without justification can be punished with up to 3 years' imprisonment.

CPCZ's Lenart Talks With Soviet Officials

Meets With Maslyukov

LD0709232488 Prague CTK in English 1453 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow Sept 7 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart, heading a Czechoslovak party delegation on a working visit here, met today with Soviet First Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Committee Yuriy Maslyukov.

The two officials exchanged views on problems related to long-term planning of the development of Czechoslovak and Soviet society, and discussed the role of planning in economic reconstruction in the two countries.

Jozef Lenart met also with permanent Soviet representative in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Aleksey Antonov to discuss the course of improving cooperation in accord with the conclusions of the 44th CMEA session. The two sides said they were agreed on the approach to their realization with the aim to form in the near future an integrated socialist market.

Pointing out the significance of developing relations between CMEA and the EEC, the two sides called for expanding direct relations and for seeking new forms of cooperation including joint ventures with third countries participating. Jozef Lenart also conferred with Soviet Finance Minister Boris Gostev and Chairman of the State Price Committee Valentin Pavlov.

Leaves for Kiev

LD0709232888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] USSR—The Czechoslovak party delegation, headed by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has left Moscow by air for Kiev. In the Ukrainian capital the Czechoslovak delegation will be briefed on the tasks of the local engineering enterprises in the conditions of radical restructuring of the economic mechanism, and will discuss possibilities of further expanding the production cooperation of the Ukrainian enterprises with their Czechoslovak partners.

ZSL Plenum Views Polish Situation

PM0709130988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Sep 88 p 3

[TASS correspondent Valentin Volkov report: "The Polish Peasant Party Position"]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Sep—A plenum of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) Main Committee has taken place here under the motto "Only a United People Can Overcome Difficulties." The plenum was devoted to a discussion of the political and socioeconomic situation in Poland.

The process of socialist renewal, reforms, and national accord, which was so hard to get off the ground, is again being subjected to a serious trial, Roman Malinowski, chairman the ZSL Main Committee and marshal of the Polish Sejm, who delivered the report, said. For the second time within a short period the country is experiencing a wave of strikes at a number of enterprises. They are inflicting moral and material damage, giving rise to misgivings about the future of the reforms, and undermining Poland's prestige and reputation in the international arena.

The report condemned the continuing illegal strike actions. In the ZSL members' opinion, the strikes will not improve the country's economic situation, nor will they accelerate the implementation of the reforms. The peasants are concerned that the damage caused by the strikes will have to be borne by them to a considerable extent and will lead to a deterioration in the food supply situation. The Presidium of the ZSL Main Committee, the speaker noted, regards the current situation in the country as damaging to the vital interests of the people and endangering the future of Poland. The ZSL will make every effort to ensure a political solution of the conflict and the elimination of its root causes.

The resolution adopted by the plenum stresses that in order to overcome the difficulties and the tension which have arisen and to accelerate the implementation of the reform, it is necessary to develop qualitatively new interparty cooperation at all levels. Guided by the highest interests of the state, the ZSL will actively collaborate with all supporters of the socialist renewal, reforms, national accord, and development of cooperation within a framework of a broad socialist coalition, the document notes.

Tolstykh Meets With Polish Science Official

PM0509135788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 29 August B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, received K. Tott, first deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Commission for Science and Technical Progress.

There was a discussion of questions of scientific and technical cooperation in fulfilling comprehensive scientific and technical CEMA programs and bilateral cooperation between the USSR and Poland.

West Europe

Austria's Mock To Visit 11-15 Sep

LD0809173188 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—Alois Mock, Austria's vice chancellor and minister for foreign affairs, will pay an official visit to the Soviet Union on September 11-15, 1988 at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Kamentsev Leads Delegation to Finland

LD0709140588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Helsinki, 7 Sep (TASS)—A Soviet delegation led by V.M. Kamentsev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet section of the intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation, arrived here today for a routine working meeting of the cochairmen of the Intergovernmental Soviet-Finnish Commission on Economic Cooperation.

The delegation was met at the capital's airport by K. Sorsa, Finnish deputy prime minister, foreign minister, and chairman of the Finnish section of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation; I. Suominen, trade and industry minister; and other officials.

Discusses Trade With Sorsa

LD0709232088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Helsinki, 7 Sep (TASS)—A meeting took place here today between Kamentsev and Sorsa in the reception hall of the Finnish Council of State, within the context of the latest working meeting between the cochairmen of the Soviet-Finnish Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation.

The sides discussed current issues relating to Soviet-Finnish trade and economic ties.

Soviet, French Officials Consult on UN Session

PM0809115588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-French consultations on questions concerning the forthcoming 43d UN General Assembly session were held in the USSR Foreign Ministry 2-3 September.

A conversation was held within the framework of the consultations between V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, Y. Pagniez, French ambassador to the USSR, and J.P. Masse, director of the French Foreign Ministry International Organizations Department.

Dobrynin Receives FRG Bank Official

LD0709203688 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today met and talked with Friedrich Wilhelm Christians, a member of the West German business community and of the Deutsche Bank AG board.

In the light of the upcoming visit to the USSR of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, a substantive exchange of views was held on prospects for a further development of Soviet-West German relations, including in the economic field.

Antonov Holds Talks With FRG Businessman

LD0809083988 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the Soviet part of the Commission of the USSR and the FRG on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Aleksey Antonov today received prominent representative of the FRG business circles, chairman of the board of Ruhrgas AG firm Klaus Liesen on the latter's request. Questions of the development of Soviet-West German cooperation in the area of the gas industry were discussed.

Paper Notes Military Plane Crashes in FRG

LD0309064988 Moscow TASS in English 0543 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow August [as received] 3 TASS—The recently more frequent crashes of U.S. and other war planes in the skies of the FRG are not accidental. This conclusion is drawn in the article "Banked Turns Towards the Cemetery" by A. Tsyganov, in today's issue of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Commenting on the recent fiery air show disaster in the West German city of Ramstein, A. Tsyganov points out that the number of the participants in the air show and the on-lookers alone, who were killed as a result of the aircrash at an altitude of 30 metres over the earth of three aircraft totalled some 50 persons. By far larger numbers of people were badly injured and mutilated.

The tragic end of the air show was no surprise, the author points out. He quotes the West German DER SPIEGEL magazine as saying that a total of 113 air crashes took place in the territory of nine out of ten West German lands from 1980 till late March 1988. The magazine does not give the latest data, yet several more air crashes have taken place since March. The aggregate damage done by them runs into 4,500 million marks. All this is evidence that the air crashes of air force planes in the skies of the FRG is a phenomenon, which has become a systematic one.

There is one more aspect—the ecological one—in this sorry phenomenon, the newspaper stresses.

The accidents suffered by the U.S. and French fighter aircraft touched off a wave of indignation across the country, since both of those planes fell close to nuclear power plants. A kilometre and a half—or six seconds of flight—of the French "Mirage" aircraft saved the FRG from the real threat of getting a second Chernobyl in its territory. Fifteen kilometres separated the crater in the place of the fall of the U.S. F-16 plane from another nuclear reactor. Both planes were in a low-level flight, the very technique which led to the Ramstein air show disaster. And one shall also bear in mind that despite the optimistic statements by spokesmen for the Bonn authorities much less than all the 23 West German nuclear power plants are so realiable as to withstand the fall of an air plane, the more so if the latter carries a full set of ammunition, the article notes.

Yet the point is not only the possible fass of a fighter aircraft of a bomber on the nuclear reactor itself. The air crashes have again sharpened the disucssions concerning in general the danger of low-altitude flights for the civilian population and in this discussion, as Werner Heuer, military expert of the Free Democratic Party said, the most striking aspect is how little understanding is shown by the government in the growing concern about such a state of things among the FRG citizens, who bitterly joke that they live in an airfield the size from the North Sea to the Alpes.

Norwegian-Soviet Environmental Talks Held

PM0709094188 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Aug 88 p 8

[Kjell Dragnes report: "Soviet Union Promises Fewer Emissions"]

[Text] Emissions of sulfur gas from the nickel plants at Nikel and Zapolyarnyy close to the Norwegian border will be halved before 1993. Measures to clean up emissions will reduce sulfur pollution even before the end of this year.

The Soviet environmental authorities have not been informed of the plans for the expansion of the nuclear power station on the Kola Peninsula. The matter will be looked into, and information handed over to the Norwegian Environmental Affairs Ministry.

This was announced by First Deputy Minister Valentin Sokolovskiy of the newly created Soviet State Committee for Environmental Protection after 3 days of meetings in Oslo of the mixed Norwegian-Soviet Environmental Commission. He also revealed ignorance of what happens to waste from Soviet nuclear power stations and where plants to treat this waste are located. "I do not know," he answered, when asked where spent fuel rods and other waste are cleaned up and treated. One of his aides added that "there have been reports in the press that this happens somewhere near Moscow."

Environmental Affairs Ministry Permanent Under Secretary Olaf Saetersdal, who led the Norwegian delegation, was happy with the positive attitude the Soviet Union is now showing toward environmental issues. But he was greatly surprised by the question of why the Norwegian environmental authorities did not know about the planned expansion of nuclear power, when this was contained in the 5-year plan adopted in 1986. "Do you think we should read the 5-year plan?" Saetersdal asked.

Sulfur pollution and the Kola power station were foremost topics during the press conference after the meeting of the commission. But other topics were also touched on: an agreement on environmental cooperation in rivers on the border between the two countries, an agreement on cooperation on marine pollution and protection against oil spills, and cooperation on ecological problems in the Barents Sea. It was announced that the Soviet Union has now ratified the agreement on the notification of nuclear accidents signed by Prime Ministers Gro Harlem Brundtland and Nikolay Ryzhkov in January.

Deputy Minister Sokolovskiy called the sulfur emissions at Nikel "a small local problem," but both he and Valentin Siberov from the Nonferrous Metallurgy Ministry stressed that the Soviet Union is taking the problem seriously. From emissions totaling 383,000 metric tons in 1980, the figure will be reduced to 290,000 metric tons this year, and, according to the plans, emissions will be down to 186,000 metric tons in 1993. The Soviet Union wants lower levels of emissions, but does not have the technology for this at present. We will accept any help here, Siberov said, and pointed out that the delegation had paid a visit to the Norsk Viftefabrikk [Norwegian Fan Factory]. Other polluting industries on the Kola Peninsula, such as the apatite processing plants at Monchegorsk, will be equipped with antipollution plants. The investments in these are large; at Nikel they amount to a good 600 million kroner.

But if Norway is worried about sulfur emissions and nuclear power, the Soviet Union also has its worries. These have to do with the possible repercussions of accidents during Norwegian exploratory drilling for oil in the Barents Sea. Any discharge would have major repercussions, Sokolovskiy said.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Refutes Troop Dispatch Reports

LD0709205088 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Managua September 7 TASS—Nicaragua has categorically refuted the reports in the Western press about the alleged mass dispatch of troops of the Sandinist Peoples Army to the border with Honduras. As newsmen were told at the Republic's Defence Ministry here, such reports are totally unfounded.

The start for a fresh propaganda outcry around Nicaragua was marked by the false report issued by the counterrevolutionary radio station Liberation. This mouthpiece of the armed contra gangs is funded by the CIA and broadcasts subversive programs from the Honduran territory. The Nicaraguan authorities point to the extremely dangerous character of such inventions, stressing that they are part and parcel of the fresh hostile campaign against the Republic, which has been carefully pre-planned in Washington. Its aim is to picture Nicaragua as a "threat to the security of the U.S. allies in Central America", and, using this pretext start a new stage in political and military pressure on the Sandinist government.

It is also noted that the fraudulant report has been issued on the eve of the debate in the U.S. House of Representatives of the question of the appropriation of a new "package" of aid for the Nicaraguan contras.

According to the bill already endorsed by the Senate, it is planned to set aside 27 million dollars for the so-called humanitarian aid for the hired bandits and 16 million for military purposes. The second part of the appropriations can be received by the contras on condition the U.S. Administration convinces the Congress that Nicaragua created an "emergency situation" in Central America. Apparently, it is hard to describe as accidental that the myth about a "Nicaraguan threat to Honduras" which is reiterated on these days by the subversive radio voice has been set afloat precisely now. The instigation of the border conflict between the two Central American countries also attunes to the general campaign of official Washington's anti-Nicaraugan intrigues—the pretext for direct U.S. armed invasion of Nicaragua.

U.S. Military Facilities in Honduras Criticized

PM0809134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 88 First Edition p 4

[P. Bogomolov "Rejoinder": "Some Screen..."]

[Text] The upcoming installation in Honduras of a Pentagon radar for electronic tracking of aircraft and ships and direct U.S. assistance in the modernization of other military facilities on the territory of the Central American country—these proposals appear in drafts of the next U.S.-Honduran agreements, which, thanks to the paper EL TIEMPO, have been made public.

"So what's special about that?" the reader may ask. "After all, the 'strategic partnership' between Washington and Tegucigalpa goes back a long way...."

Indeed, there are 3,500 U.S. servicemen permanently stationed in Honduras, and large Air Force bases and the relevant Pentagon infrastructure have been established. So there would be nothing sensational about this expansion of the U.S. presence, were it not for one curious detail. Apparently, Washington needs electronic intelligence in the region for...the noble purpose of combating the narcotics business.

One recalls in this connection the trial not so long ago in Managua at which U.S. mercenary pilot Eugene Hasenfus faced Nicaraguan justice. The investigation had established beyond a doubt that the C-123 aircraft which he had regularly used to deliver weapons to the contras had on more than one occasion been loaded up with narcotics "in the neighborhood" on the way back—at secret and open airfields in El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras. Doing this with the knowledge of special services mixed up in the "Iran-contras" affair, he had gone on to the United States with the poison. A graphic illustration, wouldn't you say, of what store to lay in the fantasies about the "Sandinista plot" to poison U.S. youth with narcotics.

They have indeed chosen a crass argument, those who are busy preparing for a new stage of the "undeclared war" against revolutionary Nicaragua and are cramming military facilities in Central America with the latest equipment and military hardware to that end.

Baby Trafficking in Chile, Latin America Alleged

PY0809182688 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 8 Sep 88

[From "National Chronical" feature]

[Text] The 6 July issue of NEWSWEEK published an article saying that baby-trafficking mafias are getting rich in countries like Chile, Argentina, and Sri Lanka, where local entrepreneurs charge up to $20,000 a baby to buyers from Western countries.

Chile has been occupying a place in the regrettable news corner of the international media for a long time. This news include crimes against and the trampling of human rights. All these acts are linked to the continuation of a dictatorship that, after 15 years of terror, is seeking to perpetuate itself in power through a plebiscite Pinochet intends to hold from behind barbed wire. Another media reports on the price of Chilean babies in this turbid trade. The babies, which, according to the Chilean police, are usually bought from single mothers or extremely poor families, can cost $1,000. These children are later sold at three times this price, an advantage that can only be obtained in the market economy Pinochet likes so much.

Latin American officials estimate that each one of these countries export between 200 and 700 babies per year. This trade is obviously done clandestinely, just like the kidnappings, tortures, disappearances, and other operations in Pinochet's administration. This is why these issues are termed human rights violations, a specialty of the dictatorship.

The dictator has proudly said: Nothing moves in Chile without my knowledge. Without his knowledge and approval, that is.

It is clear then that the baby trade does not bother the dictatorship. It does not affect its economic model. The clandestine export of babies has a well-defined purpose: to allow childless couples to satisfy their parental needs. Blond, blue-eyed babies get the highest prices because the market is in the Western industrialized countries.

These babies can also be used for other purposes. In these cases the color of the skin is no longer important. Fattening centers have been established in Central American countries to feed the children properly before they are used by organ-transplant centers in the developed countries.

This is the truth, terrible as it sounds. International organizations such as the United Nations have began showing concern for the problem. These unfortunate children are taken to centers where they are treated so their organs can be used for transplants to millionaires who can pay for this and other luxuries. The crime is so great that several governments have begun to protest, denounce, and take measures to protect their children from such a terrible destiny.

A new crime against mankind is being perpetrated every day in front of our eyes, affecting the most defenseless sectors of society: the babies of extreme poverty.

Regimes such as the one in Paraguay, where godfather Stroessner has just been reelected, are at the head of this profitable trade. The export of babies has become an excellent business, according to JORNAL DO BRAZIL of Rio de Janeiro.

(Baudivio Ichos Lopez), Guatemala's finance police spokesman, has said: We know the traffic has existed for a year. Babies that are purchased for $250 are sold for $15,000 to organ-transplant centers in the United States.

There are strong indications that children that are allegedly sent to the United States for adoption are used as organ donors, the Costa Rican Children's National Defense Institute has said.

One of the fattening houses in Guatemala was owned by the sister-in-law of former dictator Oscar Mejia, the Mexican newspaper EXCELSIOR said after an exhaustive investigation.

For some years the U.S. market has been demanding all kinds of human organs for transplants: eyes, kidneys, lungs, livers, blood, and other parts of the little bodies of babies that are not even treated as animals. But some countries have reacted positively: The Italian Government has prohibited the import of Central American children while Communist deputies at the European Parliament have submitted a bill on the matter.

In Haiti, as well as in Somoza's Nicaragua, a country which the contras want to reestablish, a prosperous blood trade had developed.

Children will not vote in the 5 October plebiscite, but those who will cannot avoid thinking that when they support the no vote they are defending the lives of thousands of children whose only crime was to be born in Pinochet's Chile. Children and babies cannot lift roadblocks or oppose the fascist repression of the regime. However, they can become the victims, goods without any other value than that of their parts which are extracted in the killing centers. This is something so horrifying that it is beyond the most sickening imagination.

The traffic of babies and the kidnapping of children is a problem in many countries today. This includes Chile, where the issues are also torture, unemployment, and total obedience to the IMF. When these issues are contemplated, Pinochet's Chile occupies one of the first places, fighting for the dubious honor with other regimes with similar despicable dictatorships.

Castro Sends Thanks for Anniversary Message

PM0709161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, to USSR leadership bodies]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee,

To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

To the USSR Council of Ministers

Please accept my profound gratitude for your fraternal congratulations on the 35th anniversary of the 26 July National Uprising Day, as well as my best wishes for your fraternal country's happiness and progress.

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers

Presidium, Peruvian President Exchange Cables

PM0709095888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of Peru's national holiday, Independence Day, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent a telegram to that country's president, sending cordial congratulations and wishes for happiness and prosperity to him and to the Peruvian people.

In a reply message President Alan Garcia Perez, on behalf of the people and government of Peru and on his own account, expressed thanks for the congratulations and sent best wishes for the Soviet people's prosperity, as well as expressing hopes for the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Consultations With Dominican Officials Reported

PM0809135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Dominican consultations on questions concerning the agenda of the 43d UN General Assembly session were held in Santo Domingo on 31 August. They were attended on the Soviet side by Ya.A. Burlyay, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry First Latin American Department, and on the Dominican side by F. Herrera, deputy minister of foreign relations. After the consultations the USSR Foreign Ministry representative was received by J.R. Garcia, minister of foreign relations of the Dominican Republic.

Political & Social

Rehabilitation of 'Stagnation' Victims Urged

PM0909094588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from reader A. Melikov under the rubric "Letters '...Not for Publication'": "In the Period of Stagnation Too"]

[Text] As we already know, many honest Soviet people suffered during the period of stagnation. They included people of natural gifts like sovkhoz director Khudenko from Kazakhstan, for instance. But far from all have had their good name returned to them. Perhaps, as well as the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the additional study of materials connected with the repressions in the thirties and forties and early fifties, it is time to create a commission that would be concerned with the fate of the victims of the era of stagnation? The noble work to rehabilitate those who were publicly punished during the years of Stalinism should, in my view, also extend to those who suffered in the struggle for their principles in the seventies.

[Signed] A. Melikov, Ali-Bayramly

Combining of Party, Soviet Posts Viewed

PM0809131788 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 35, 27 Aug-2 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 25 Aug 88) pp 4-5

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Kurashvili, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, by correspondent V. Voronetskiy: "On Combining the Posts of First Secretary of the Party Committee and Head of the Corresponding Soviet of People's Deputies"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] What brought about this decision? The idea was submitted to and approved by the 19th all-union party conference. Our corresspondent talked to Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Kurashvili, leading scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute.

Correspondent: Boris Pavlovich, the question is obviously not easy. The idea of combining two posts in one person, as is well known, aroused doubts even in some conference delegates.

Kurashvili: May I add that scientists' opinions have also been divided on this question. Many people see this as reinforcing authoritarianism rather than as democratization. But that is not the case. The situation is indeed more complex. In order to assess the real significance of the innovation in question, it must be seen in the context of all the changes outlined by the party conference.

Correspondent: Can you be more specific?

Kurashvili: Well, let's see. What is one of the key elements in reconstructing the entire system of power? Undoubtedly it is the revival of the sovereignty [polnovlastiye] of the soviets of all levels. However, we must not forget that a second key element of the reform—the cessation of direct party control over economic and sociocultural activity—is linked inseparably with real sovereignty for the soviets. Now, in accordance with the conference decisions, the party and its organs will "withdraw" into their own sphere—the elaboration of strategic problems and political control over their solution, and to ideological and political work.

Correspondent: What about the thesis concerning the "increase in the party's leading role"?

Kurashvili: Yes, we have made many declarations on this subject. But it is only now that that "great tandem" between the party and the soviets is finally being set up, allowing an increase in both the role of the party—by stepping up its political influence on social relations—and the role of the soviets—by boosting the effectiveness of state management of social activity as a self-management process.

I must stress that the underlying essence of the changes outlined by the 19th party conference lies in the endeavor to create a reasonable and harmonious political system in which three organizational factors—party political influence, competent democratic state management, and social self-management in all its forms—are differentiated and integrated.

Correspondent: Yu. Valin from Kirov asks the following question: "Aren't we creating conditions for 'moguls' [kultiki] throughout the country by giving one person two posts?"

Kurashvili: You must bear in mind that the regime of state power—the political regime—takes shape in every historical era, in every period of the socialist state's development as the optimum combination—adapted to specific conditions—of two dyametrically opposed characteristics: positively understood authoritarianism (unilateral power, subordination, and discipline) and democratism (equality, freedom, and self-governability). Now we are making a far-reaching change from the former to the latter, from authoritarianism to democratism. But this does not mean that authoritarianism is being revoked (that is quite impossible, that is the way to anarchy and the disorganization of public life); it is being transformed. Given the overall weakening of authoritarianism, its individual elements can also be strengthened.

Correspondent: Ye. Rusnik from Chernovtsy writes as follows: "The kind of position combination proposed has already occurred in our country and been of no benefit."

Kurashvili: The reader is right; it has happened before, but this time it will be implemented on a different basis. The combination of posts and the emergence of the figure of the "secretary-chairman" cannot be understood correctly if we do not take into consideration the radical changes in the system of power that it is planned to implement in our country. First, this involves an increase in the popular character of the soviets and an end to the practice of electing to them the leaders of the management apparatus.

Second, it involves switching the soviets to permanent functioning, totally or partially freeing deputies from their production work.

Third, it involves the creation of soviet presidiums both at rayon and oblast levels, thus releasing them from the tutelage of the executive organs.

Fourth, it entails a sharp increase in soviets' monitoring functions with the transfer of the people's control committees to their direct jurisdiction.

Finally, it entails the expansion of soviets' rights and the ultimate establishment of their "normal power" ["normalnovlastiye"].

Correspondent: Nonetheless there is something paradoxical about this decision that, as it were, runs counter to common sense. "How can this be," L. Baranov from Moscow writes, "the functions of the party and the soviets must be demarcated, yet leadership of the party and the soviets will be combined in one person's hands."

Kurashvili: It must be recalled here that in intricate situations paradoxical decisions are often the only way out. This is only being realized gradually. Let's ponder this: What is the point in combining the aforementioned posts? In the organizational context it ensures both an increase in the role of the soviets and also an end to direct party management of social life and the duplication by party organs of the state and economic apparatus. But this is not being done at the expense of a reduction in the role of party political influence. Such a price can neither be asked nor paid.

The procedure for electing the first party leader, the leader of the ruling party or its organization, to the post of soviet chairman will give a clear idea of the party's real influence among the people and the real authority of particular party leaders.

I think it is necessary to establish that when nominating one candidate to the post of soviet chairman he will be deemed elected if he secures the votes of at least two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of those voting. Nor is it precluded that two to three party committee members can be nominated as candidates for this post, with the one obtaining the most votes becoming both chairman of the soviet and first secretary of the party committee.

Correspondent: Let us suppose that the choice has been made. What, in your view, will happen then?

Kurashvili: In my opinion, a great deal will change. The party leader will be as it were removed from the apparatus environment of constant contact and placed in another environment—that of the deputy and the people. He will have more opportunities to meet voters, petitioners, social rationalizers, and reformers.

This is exceptionally important for a political leader. When resolving specific management questions the combined "secretary-chairman" will not push them through via the party channel since he will have more opportunities via the soviet channel—legitimate authoritative powers above all. Correspondingly there will be a strengthening of the soviet apparatus and a reduction of the party apparatus.

In short, a fundamentally new, more democratic, and at the same time more reliable form of exercising state power will be set up. The fact that the soviets will be headed by the "first individuals" in the political system will bring into alignment the soviets' pro forma and real powers. These collegial organs will not be obedient tools in the hands of the "first individuals."

Correspondent: Evidently, this is on condition that the role of the soviets and their deputies is indeed boosted and that deputies elect really competent and principled people's representatives capable of doing battle in the interests of the cause.

Kurashvili: Yes, of course. I think that it will be possible to introduce a mechanism for a "delaying veto," a veto imposed by the head of the soviet on its decisions. This mechanism will evidently be necessary considering the upcoming real process of democratization. No collegial organ is insured against passions, extremes, and mistakes. By this mechanism they will be overcome on a democratic basis.

The party committee first secretaries, who play a key role in the political system at every level of management, are not deprived of this role with the end of direct party management. They are as it were compensated by acquiring the opportunity to hold a key place in the state system given the population's trust in them (and on no other condition). I believe that combining posts is the only real way to transfer power from a party basis to a state basis. Everything here is in the hands of the population and the voters. So, democratization is in evidence.

Correspondent: But what is your comment on the fact that the resolution refers not to the chairman of the soviet presidium but the soviet as a whole? "Won't it turn out that the soviet presidium will be relegated to the background?" I. Miroshnichenko from Zaporozhye asks.

Kurashvili: There is a danger of this. I believe it would be more correct not to introduce this new post of "soviet chairman." The post "soviet presidium chairman" exists and it is quite enough. It is no trifle. Or rather it's the kind of "trifle" that's of fundamental importance. It's one thing to lead the work of a collegial organ, adopting decisions within the framework of its composition; personal powers on nonprocedural, very important issues are quite another matter.

The main thing when carrying out the reform is not to overstep the mark, to ensure that the modification of party power is irreproachably democratic. The new post casts doubt on this.

Elementary democratic sense protests against any organizational statute that permits even the slightest thought that soviets and deputies may be subordinate to one person and that someone can command them. Soviet deputies are subordinate to the law alone. They are guided by their civic conscience and the interests and mandates of the voters.

If this is disregarded, the combining of posts may be an expression not of the democratization of the system of power but of the reverse process—with far-reaching consequences. The party, the public, and the USSR Supreme Soviet—which will be making the amendments to the USSR Constitution—still have time to ponder these questions and resolve them correctly.

Readers Express Hopes, Doubts on Party Elections

PM0909093188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

["Reading the Mail" feature by Lyudmila Savelyeva, special correspondent of the letters desk: "Test for the Party"]

[Text] "The report and election campaign is beginning in the party. Do we Communists realize that we do not have the right to lose this campaign? That too much is at stake, primarily the real opportunity to restore confidence in and respect for the party as a whole? The party's present-day authority is directly dependent on whether ordinary party members are principled enough and bold enough for a frank, exacting discussion about everything that concerns people, without respect of rank and persons."

The questions troubling Communist A. Lysenko from Orel are also being asked by other readers. "If, as before, the report and election meetings are stage-managed and Communists automatically vote for the candidates selected 'from above,'" Muscovite M. Vorontsov develops this idea, "it will mean that restructuring is taking a step backward. Don't misunderstand me: I do not mean that a candidate 'from above' is necessarily bad—he could be a perfectly worthy leader. But the most important thing is that the 'lower ranks' want to vote for him and no one else, so that party members set a clear example of democracy at work, rather than just words." "The election campaign," Ye. Kuznetsov (Vitebsk Oblast) notes, "will be a mirror reflecting the true state of affairs in party organizations. It will be a kind of test of party principledness and readiness for the truth. Like others, I do not know, I am not very sure that many will not fail this test. For too long we have learned to remain silent and grasped the principle that 'what I do doesn't matter.' Is it really so easy to change?"

Restructuring, many people emphasize, has made them take a more active stand, has "liberated the intellect and the spirit" (S. Kazartsev, Moscow), and "stirred and excited" them (S. Agracheva, Donetsk). But at the same time, as I. Podgornyak from Minsk points out, "we must also be aware of something else: The people who really believe (and they have never lost their faith, they have simply kept quiet about it) and can now show their true selves are trying to 'reassure' others that they are not going to get carried away with democracy." "We used to be afraid to speak the truth," K. Rankova, a CPSU member from Penza, echoes the thoughts of the man from Minsk, "and we are still afraid now. This is because there are a great many ways to 'tame' people, as you well know; the techniques have been perfected in this respect. Instead of defending their comrade, a collective or party organization plays the part of bystander. The silent majority is now, in my mind, the greatest danger to restructuring and the party."

"In the course of the election campaign," power engineer V. Kushakov from Kansk believes, "healthy forces in the party must unite. Unite and wage war on timeservers, careerists, and demagogues. Such forces do exist in the party—I can judge this from my own party organization. But honest, worthy Communists are not sufficiently confident that they can really influence the course of events."

"I await the report and election meeting in our collective with some trepidation," a worker from Krasnoyarsk, who asked us not to give his name, says, sharing his thoughts with the editorial office. "The shop chief has already made it quite clear who is going to be our party organizer. I openly voiced my doubts for all to hear: This is a person who should be allowed nowhere near a position of authority—I could give you a number of examples to prove this. My stand has not only displeased the bosses. 'Why do you have to make a fuss?' my comrades on the team are already asking. You can see just how distorted our moral guidelines have become, how elementary principles can easily develop into a primitive wrangle. On the whole, I have no confidence in my comrades—I can see that many are indifferent as to who becomes our party organizer."

Emphasizing that "the years of stagnation are past, but stagnant souls that have no fire, no courage, remain" (T. Vinogradova, Moscow), many party members say, not without bitterness, that "I am not sure whether my truthful word will be supported; it is more likely that many will keep quiet" (K. Katsko, Zhitomir). "I will speak honestly and directly, but what if everyone else remains apathetic, as before?" (M. Ivanitskiy, Moscow). "I am afraid to stand alone—that is why I have decided not to poke my nose into anything" (S. Pospelov, Kalinin).

Attitudes like these, unfortunately, are far from a rarity in our mailbag. It is impossible to keep quiet about them, because taking ideas like these to a report and election meeting would mean certain failure. And we really have no right to fail. "We Communists are being watched by young people and nonparty people," L. Miroshnichenko from Kiev, a war and labor veteran, writes. "They are both biased and expectant: Will we really be able to guarantee unity of word and deed, are we truly capable of leading others? It is a secret to no one that the party has a considerable number of unworthy people in its ranks. It is also a well-known fact how they got there: Because a party membership card has become a necessary springboard for further leaps up the official ladder, people have joined the party in search of a career and personal benefits. Let us remember that the Leninist party began with people sacrificing their personal tranquillity and facing the prospect of deprivation, risk, and even death, for the sake of the general good. We must restore the lofty, sacred meaning to the concept of Communist."

This idea is echoed in many letters: "Party committees must perform a strict inspection parade of their ranks" (I. Toporikov, candidate of sciences, Leningrad). "It is often the case that a party member is no different from a nonparty person, apart from the fact that he pays his membership fees, and this greatly undermines party authority" (A. Miroshnichenko, electrician, Khakass Autonomous Oblast). "If party members adopt an unprincipled attitude of compromise on serious issues, it is appropriate to ask the question: What kind of Communists are they? And why does the party need this deadwood?" (G. Terekhov, Ivanovo). "Today a party member can only mobilize others by personal example: The time of jubilant slogans is past and words have lost their value" (V. Deomidov, Trubchevsk).

Many people insist that during the election campaign special attention should be paid to future candidates for party membership. "When considering admission to the party, the labor collective's recommendation must be strictly binding: Every collective has a good idea of who is who, and values a person not on the basis of some questionnaire or fine words but in the light of his practical and moral qualities" (M. Akhmedov, Zheleznodorozhnyy). "We are used to saying that the party is the vanguard of the people," engineer L. Trushkin notes (Lomonosov, Leningrad Oblast), "but is this not often a case of wishful thinking? I am not only thinking of those Communists who have clearly compromised this title by their actions, but mainly those who have never shown their public face and have reconciled themselves to deception and stagnation in all spheres." "It is within our power and our means," Ye. Silov (Kaluga Oblast) writes, "to ensure that the worthiest people join the party. Not only good workers with a 'clean' record but people who take a civic stand, have not lost faith in their ideals, and have retained the ability to uphold these ideals at all costs."

In the opinion of many readers—party members and nonparty people alike—the sober, honest analysis of past mistakes has only strengthened party authority. "But this is only the beginning of a great deal of work to make the climate within the party healthier," worker I. Voronov (Bryansk) remarks. "There is no doubt that we are no longer the people we were 3 years ago. But the old ideas—and this is the real danger—are firmly hanging on, have not lost their grip. Dressed up in the modern phraseology (after all, terminology is easy to master), they are self-critical in everything while we, seeing the falsity and the mask, remain silent, still afraid of our own voice. Precisely this is our weakness and, at the same time, the strength of those who merely pass themselves off as advocates of restructuring."

"We have become used to nodding to 'the powers that be,' the Central Committee, Moscow," B. Kolbin (Chelyabinsk Oblast) writes. "But when on earth are we going to realize that it is mainly up to us to determine the kind of life we have? Who, for example, is preventing us from electing militant, principled, independent-minded people to the party committees? Who is stopping us from waging war on the bureaucratic approach to such an extremely important issue as the choice of party leader? Perhaps it is only our own apathy, our willingness—evolved over the decades—for constant compromise. If we overcome this—restructuring will win through."

But will we overcome this? Many people who write letters to IZVESTIYA ask this question—of themselves and of their comrades in the party and at work. Frankly sharing their doubts, aware of the complexities and contradictions that have built up in society and within party organizations themselves, and having no illusions that the new ideas will be quickly and easily established, many are confident nevertheless that we will overcome everything! This sober view of reality, this serious concern with what is happening, and this sincere desire to influence what is happening is, you must agree, encouraging. "We must remember that the authority the party enjoys now is likewise created now. Communists have no right to be passive: Their credit of trust is exhausted—the time has come to repay the debts."

These are the words with which N. Yefimenko from the Krasnoyarsk Kray city of Nazarovo ends his letter, thereby expressing the opinion of both party members and nonparty people. There was one other interesting letter, incidentally, from M. Tekov, a herdsman in Kislovodsk: "I have been offered party membership three times. I honestly declined to join: I could see that there was an increasing contradiction between what Communists said and what they did. Now I can see something different—a desire for the truth, for purification, for a revival of Leninist principles. This is the kind of party that I can join to help honest people triumph over those who do not like change."

Further on Stricter Awards Procedures

PM0809112588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution dated 22 August: "On Improving the Procedure for Conferring USSR State Awards"]

[Text] The Kremlin, Moscow—Under conditions of the comprehensive renewal of all spheres of life in Soviet society, great significance is attached to the provision of moral incentives for Soviet peoples' outstanding personal contribution to the cause of restructuring; accelerating the country's socioeconomic development; enriching the spiritual life of society; strengthening the motherland's defense capability and international positions; and enhancing the role of state awards in this as an expression of the whole people's recognition of the services of citizens who selflessly fulfill their labor and social duty. The need arises in this connection to improve the procedure for conferring USSR state awards and to enhance their prestige. They must be used as incentives on the basis of the principles of social justice and glasnost, with the active participation of labor collectives, and in an atmosphere of genuine democratism.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves that:

1. Individual workers in production, science, public education, health care, culture, and other spheres of activity and groups of working people are to be recommended for USSR state awards for specific lofty achievements in resolving tasks of the country's socioeconomic development and cultural building with due regard for the recipients' personal services. Mass awards, including on the results of 5-year plans, are not to be made in the future.

Every labor collective has the right to independently submit an appropriate petition for the conferment of USSR state awards.

Recommendations for USSR state awards may also be made on the initiative of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, and organs of other public organizations, ministries, state committees, and departments.

Candidacies for awards are examined at a meeting of the labor collective or by its council, which is recorded in the award document. In the event of a petition for an award being turned down, the reasons for that decision are to be explained to the labor collective by the appropriate organ.

2. When selecting candidacies for awards, the principle of the award's accordance with the recipients' actual services is to be adhered to. It is to be laid down that persons who have already received another order may, as a rule, be recommended for conferment of the Order of Lenin or the Order of the October Revolution for labor services. A second recommendation for the Order of Lenin is not permitted, with the exception of cases where persons who have distinguished themselves are awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union or the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. Nor are people to be recommended a second time for the order of the October Revolution. Only in exceptional cases may people be recommended a second time for other orders and medals of the same name, except orders and medals which have different classes. A further recommendation for an order or medal is possible, as a rule, not less than 5 years after the previous conferment of a USSR state award. For courage and bravery displayed in fulfilling civic and military duty, USSR citizens may be recommended for a subsequent award regardless of when the previous award was made.

USSR state awards are not conferred on Soviet citizens during the period of labor activity in connection with their birthdays.

3. Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of Socialist Labor are not awarded the "Gold Star" medal or the "Hammer and Sickle" gold medal, respectively, a second time. Following a petition from state organs and public organizations, bronze busts may be erected to Heroes of the Soviet Union who are, at the same time, Heroes of socialist labor. Bronze busts are not erected during the lifetime of heroes.

4. The "Badge of Honor" order is henceforth to be named the Order of Honor.

The order "For Personal Courage" is to be instituted for award to citizens who have displayed courage and bravery in saving people's lives, in safeguarding public order or socialist porperty, in combating crime and natural disasters, and under other extraordinary circumstances. With the participation of the interested organizations the USSR MVD and the USSR Ministry of Justice are to draw up and submit within 1 month a draft statute for and description of the "For Personal Courage" order.

5. For the purpose of encouraging outstanding achievements and great skill in the professional activity of working people in leading professions in the main spheres of labor activity, it is to be considered expedient to have the following USSR honorary titles:
"USSR People's Teacher,"
"USSR People's Physician,"
"USSR People's Artiste,"
"USSR People's Artist,"
"USSR People's Architect,"
"USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut,"
"USSR Honored Industrial Worker,"
"USSR Honored Agricultural Worker,"
"USSR Honored Construction Worker,"
"USSR Honored Transport Worker,"
"USSR Honored Communications Worker,"
"USSR Honored Inventor,"

"USSR Honored Test Pilot,"
"USSR Honored Test Navigator,"
"USSR Honored Specialist of the Armed Forces."

Before 1 October 1988 the USSR Ministry of Justice jointly with interested organizations is to submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium draft statutes on the USSR honorary titles "USSR Honored Industrial Worker," "USSR Honored Construction Worker," "USSR Honored Transport Worker," "USSR Honored Communications Worker," and "USSR Honored Specialist of the Armed Forces" and, before 1 January 1989, proposals for bringing the legislation on USSR state awards into line with this resolution and for making changes to the statutes governing orders and the statutes on USSR medals and honorary titles. This is to be done with a view to defining more precisely the grounds for awards with due regard for the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, restructuring all aspects of social life, and further democratizing the process of recommending people for awards.

The USSR Ministry of Justice, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Soviet Women's Committee, jointly with other interested ministries and departments, are to draw up and submit before 1 January 1989 proposals for improving the use of USSR state awards as moral incentives for having many children, bearing in mind that mothers with many children must be rewarded with due regard for their involvement in bringing up the children and strengthening the family.

6. Recommendations for USSR state awards to be conferred on working people are to be submitted directly to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

For workers of enterprises, associations, establishments, and organizations which come under the system of all-union and union republic ministries, state committees, and departments of the USSR—by ministries, state committees, and departments of the USSR, jointly with the corresponding trade union central committees;

For workers of enterprises, associations, establishments, and organizations which come under the system of republic ministries, state committees, and departments of the union republics—by union republic councils of ministers jointly with republic trade union councils, and in the RSFSR jointly with the corresponding trade union central committees;

For members of kolkhozes, other agricultural cooperatives, and cooperatives in the production and services spheres—by union republic councils of ministers jointly with republic trade union councils, and in the RSFSR with the trade union central committee; for members of consumer cooperatives—by the Tsentrosoyuz Board jointly with the trade union central committee;

For workers of enterprises, associations, and establishments of public organizations and members of creative unions—by all-union organs of public organizations and of creative unions jointly with trade union central committees.

Petitions from labor collectives for awards to workers of enterprises, associations, establishments, and organizations are to be agreed with party raykoms and gorkoms and with rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms.

7. Union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, rayons, cities, other population centers, and also labor collectives are no longer to be awarded USSR orders.

8. Union republic supreme soviet presidiums are to be recommended to examine the question of improving the existing system of republic state awards and to take measures to improve the practice of conferring them. The possibility of instituting new union republic state awards in the prescribed manner with due regard for revolutionary and labor traditions and perpetuating the names of outstanding progressive national figures is to be borne in mind.

9. Ministries, state committees, departments, organs of public organizations, labor collectives, and the mass media are to widely propagandize the achievements of citizens awarded state awards and educate working people in their example, above all young people, at the same time showing convincingly that only someone who selflessly, fully, and creatively fulfills his duty to the people and to the socialist motherland is worthy of a high award.

10. Soviet and law-enforcement organs are to monitor strict compliance with the procedure laid down by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for stripping people of USSR state awards, seeking to ensure that high principle is displayed in this matter and that instances where unworthy people retain state awards are ruled out.

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Weekly's Criticism of Awards Decree 'Bewildering'

PM0809090988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article under the "Mailbag" rubric by R. Eldarova, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Awards Department: "For Courage and Bravery"]

[Text] It is common knowledge that there are no zones exempt from criticism now. But this places a special responsibility on those who criticize and demands competence, tact, and respect for one's opponent. Unfortunately, it is not proving easy to grasp these simple truths.

I am reminded of that once again by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's reaction to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On Improving the Procedure for Conferring USSR State Awards."

Why did this resolution displease the newspaper? Judging from the editorial item published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 31 August 1988 under the headline "Speaking Openly About Orders," its anger was aroused primarily by the institution of the order "For Personal Courage." The newspaper, which has clearly not fully read the relevant part of the resolution, announced to the whole country that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has still not decided "what the new order is to be awarded for."

Is that the case? We can answer here and now: No, it is not. For confirmation let us turn to the resolution itself. It says: "It is resolved to institute the order 'For Personal Courage' for those citizens who have shown courage and bravery in saving human life, in protecting public order and socialist property, in combating crime, in natural disasters, and in other extraordinary circumstances." It is perfectly obvious that the new order will be awarded to people who have shown civic valor. It is surprising that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA did not notice this. Especially since previously that very editorial office had reacted disapprovingly to instances in which the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium awarded the "Badge of Honor" to people who had shown courage and valor in extraordinary circumstances. It even asked about conferring a different award on them. The Presidium could not satisfy that request because the orders that exist in our country are intended mainly as a mark of recognition for special labor and combat feats. That omission has now been made good. It was a surprise when the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office gave the new order a hostile reception.

As for the as yet unratified statute and description of the USSR's 21st order, there is nothing seditious in that either. The Supreme Soviet Presidium provides an opportunity to all interested organs to express themselves on that score, that is, it acts in the spirit of glasnost. Let us note that orders have been instituted in this way before. For example, the Order of Lenin was instituted on 6 April 1930 but its statute was only ratified 1 month later.

And, of course, the newspaper must be reminded that under the USSR Constitution, the Presidium does not consist of "staffers" but is elected from USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. To accuse them of being ignorant of the people's collective wisdom is unethical, to say the least, because it is unjustified.

The measures taken to improve the awards procedure take account of suggestions by the press and working people, who in recent years have criticized the practice of the allocation of awards on the basis of the quota system and expressed dissatisfaction at secret awards and anniversary awards. The fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution reflects the opinion of the working masses is clearly mentioned in the corresponding CPSU Central Committee resolution. Incidentally, these documents were published at the same time. On the whole the stance taken by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA on this question is bewildering.

Reader's Question on Brezhnev Medal Answered

PM0809152988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Sep 88 p 4

[R. Eldarova, head of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium awards department, answer to query from reader N. Palash: "What Has Happened to the Awards"]

[Text] Rumors are rife that the Order of Victory which was inexplicably awarded to L.I. Brezhnev posthumously has disappeared without a trace. Is that true? And one more question: Where are the Orders of Victory which were awarded to G.K. Zhukov? (N. Palash, Belgorod).

The answer is provided by R. Eldarova, head of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's awards department.

The Order of Victory awarded to L.I. Brezhnev is in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's special store. G.K. Zhukov's two orders are in the USSR Armed Forces Central Museum.

Resolution on Improving Trade Services Published

PM0709142988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] In connection with questions raised at the 19th all-union party conference regarding a speedier solution to vital problems of the people's well-being, the USSR Council of Ministers has approved the resolution "On Urgent Measures To Improve Trade Services for the Population," the draft of which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

The resolution notes that, despite measures taken, there have been no radical changes in this important socioeconomic sphere. This is largely a result of the fact that union republic councils of ministers and USSR ministries and departments with a trade network underestimate the role and significance of trade in further improving Soviet people's well-being. There are still numerous cases of delays in the sale of goods that are in plentiful supply and abnormal phenomena such as waiting lines have yet to be eradicated. The work system of many trade and public catering enterprises is inconvenient for the consumer. There are still a lot of cases of bad management, abuses, squandering and embezzlement of material assets, breaches of trade regulations, and poor quality of service. All this is a source of understandable resentment in working people.

A serious factor in the unsatisfactory condition of trade, the resolution notes, is the lag in the development of its material and technical base. The level of mechanized operations in the sector is low. The introduction of the new economic mechanism is slow. Progressive forms of the sale of goods are poorly developed. Work with cadres is failing to meet restructuring tasks.

Guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the directives of the 19th all-union party conference on the need to take urgent measures to radically improve trade services for the population, the USSR Council of Ministers has instructed the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the Tsentrosoyuz, and USSR ministries and departments with a trade network to draw up and implement additional measures to restructure trade and public catering activity in cities and rural areas and to eliminate shortcomings in their work in order to guarantee a considerable improvement in the standard of trade services available to Soviet people in the near future, and more fully satisfy their need for goods and services.

To this end it is planned to introduce proper order in the work of trade enterprises, aim to eliminate waiting lines and ensure strict observance of trade regulations, improve the population's supply of goods available in sufficient quantities, put an end to violations and abuses in the sale of goods in short supply, and eliminate cases of rudeness and inattention toward customers.

Stores' transition to self-service work methods and other progressive forms of selling goods must be completed by the end of the current 5-year period. Also, measures must be taken to introduce specialization to the retail trade network while guaranteeing the priority development of self-service stores and department stores and also freeing the maximum number of first floors in buildings currently used by various offices and institutions so as to organize specialized stores and public catering enterprises, particularly in city centers.

The resolution provides for establishing a work system in trade and public catering enterprises based on the wishes of the population and in line with local conditions. Wherever necessary, work should begin at 0600-0700 hours and finish at 2100-2300 hours, bearing in mind that extended opening hours are equivalent in effect to expanded trade premises. A 1.5-2 shift-system should be introduced at enterprises, with no closure for lunch. In department stores and large food stores special departments should be organized that will work earlier and later hours compared to the enterprise's basic opening hours. The resolution emphasizes the need to form a network of stores with extended opening hours everywhere. Stores should not be allowed to close in working hours for the purpose of stocktaking and receiving new consignments of goods. The work of advertising and information services must be better organized.

The small-scale retail trade network will be actively developed in densely populated areas, and goods in everyday demand will also be sold by cooperatives, workers in other sectors of the national economy, students and young people in the time they have free from work or study, and also by housewives and pensioners through family stores.

Consumer cooperative organizations are recommended to speed up work to form a comprehensive trade services system in rural areas that will supply all population centers. In conjunction with kolkhozes and sovkhozes they must solve the task of creating the necessary network of stores and public catering enterprises. Active use must be made of mobile trade, stores in apartment blocks, and various forms of contracts. As a service to orchard and kitchen garden associations, comprehensive enterprises should be organized in their territory where, in addition to receiving surplus agricultural produce, they could sell goods in everyday demand and agricultural implements and equipment.

Intermediary trade cooperatives will be extensively developed for the sale of agricultural produce.

The resolution outlines major measures to speed up the development of the material and technical base of trade and public catering. Union republic councils of ministers and USSR ministries and departments with a trade network are instructed to bring the population's supply of trade enterprises into line with the norm during 1989-1993 by building new premises and extensively transferring first floor premises used by administrative and other services, particularly in city centers, and also premises becoming vacant. The network of own-brand trade enterprises under USSR ministries and departments must be doubled in size.

The USSR Council of Ministers has authorized up to 7 percent of capital investments allocated for housing construction to be spent on building stores and public catering enterprises from 1989 onward, and also the use of funds from industrial enterprises and organizations—with the consent of the labor collectives concerned—for shareholding in the construction of such projects situated within the zone of their activity and in areas where their workers and employees live.

The USSR Gosplan, USSR Ministry of Trade, Tsentrosoyuz, and union republic councils of ministers are instructed to work with interested USSR ministries and departments on drawing up a program for the 13th 5-Year Plan to accelerate the development of general goods warehouses, refrigerated distribution units, and storehouses for potatoes, fruit, and vegetables and bring their capacity up to current normatives. In order to reduce the time taken to build projects in the trade-warehouse network, it is necessary to make extensive use of lightweight metal structures supplied in complete sets and develop the material base for the assembly, repair, and manufacture of trade equipment and advertising facilities, and also the material base of enterprises in the sector's construction industry.

Consumer cooperative organizations will make their own contribution to the solution of this problem; it is recommended that they develop the trade network in all oblast and rayon centers, including those with city status in the administrative division system. They should considerably increase the number of trade enterprises in cities for the sale of foodstuffs at agreed prices. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, agrarian firms, agrarian associations, and other agricultural enterprises should be extensively involved in building kolkhoz markets and own-brand stores at these markets.

Proceeding from the tasks set by the resolution to accelerate the development of trade's material and technical base, attention is drawn to the need to additionally increase the production of trade-technological equipment. The appropriate instructions have been issued to the state commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building, the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, the USSR Ministry of Trade, and the main ministries and departments.

It is also planned to increase the supply of various materials, raw materials, and equipment necessary to trade and public catering enterprises for improving the standard of services available to people living in cities and villages at their place of work and at recreational centers. The USSR Gosagroprom, USSR Ministry of Grain Products, and USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry have been instructed to make up the shortfalls in meeting foodstuff-packaging targets.

The resolution stipulates measures to further develop the new economic mechanism and increase the dependence of wages on the end results of labor collectives' activity and the personal contribution of every worker.

The leaders of trade enterprises (associations) and organizations are authorized—within the limits of the wages fund formed on the basis of established procedure—to introduce new, higher wage rates and official salaries for workers, depending on the level of preparation of their enterprises and organizations.

Consumer cooperative organizations will decide the amount of the wage rates, official salaries, allowances, supplementary payments, and bonuses for their workers within the limits of the wages fund formed in line with the norm and in accordance with the rights granted by the USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR."

There will be an increase in the incentive role played by bonuses, payment of which is to be linked to the quality of services to the population, observance of the set, itemized list of goods and compliance with trade regulations, increases in trade, and increases in enterprises' revenue. In this respect, any bonus paid to a worker has no maximum limit.

The leaders of trade and public catering enterprises (associations) and organizations are given the right—by agreement with the relevant trade union committees—to establish supplementary payments for workers who have to work at night, using the wages fund and staying within the limits of this fund, to the amount of 35 percent of the basic wage rate (salary). The resolution also provides for benefits to be paid to pensioners working at trade enterprises (associations).

The resolution draws serious attention to the need to improve work with cadres. The councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the USSR Tsentrosoyuz, and USSR ministries and departments with a trade network are instructed to strengthen leading areas of work and leading positions with well-trained, enterprising, dynamic specialists with broad economic knowledge, who are ready to take the responsibility for solving new tasks and are capable of ensuring a high standard of trade organization. The promotion of workers to leading posts must be done on the basis of democracy, broad glasnost, and competitive selection.

The resolution provides for creating a system of continuous training and retraining of cadres and strengthening the material and technical base of academic establishments. The level of educational work must be raised considerably, workers' sense of responsibility and pride in their allotted task increased, and greater demands made for strict observance of state and labor discipline. In order to intensify the struggle against all manner of abuses, bad management, breaches of trade regulations, and rudeness it is planned to make fuller use of the rights and possibilities of labor collectives and their councils and also the new forms of labor organization and remuneration.

Effective measures have been outlined to retain workers from the mass professions, specialists, and young people in trade and create the proper production and socioconsumer conditions for them. In particular, union republic councils of ministers, the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of Grain Products, and the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry are instructed—for the purpose of introducing progressive technology regarding the flow of goods and improving working conditions for women employed in the trade sector—to ensure that food products are supplied in a packed weight not exceeding 15-30 kilograms.

The USSR State Committee for Public Education and the USSR Ministry of Trade are instructed to work with the Komsomol Central Committee to bring the number of people working in the student "Trade" detachments up to 20,000 per year by the end of the 5-year period, providing them with the conditions for highly productive work, in order to orgranize trade in the spring and summer period in resort areas, places of tourism, and mass leisure centers for working people.

The mass media must more broadly demonstrate the social importance of trade work, give more comprehensive, meaningful coverage to the work experience of leading collectives, socialist competition winners, labor innovators, and the best workers in the sector, and enhance the prestige of this profession.

More Labor Discipline, Productivity Urged

PM0809154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Sep 88 First Edition p 1

[Readers' letters and PRAVDA Economics Department comment under the rubric "Topical Theme": "No One Has Abolished Discipline"]

[Text] Many people in railroad transport are now talking about strengthening discipline and boosting traffic safety since this question has recently become especially topical. But the talk is always backed up with concrete actions.

Many workers work honestly in our Kzyl-Orda division of the railroad. But there are still too many instances of slipshod work and accidents in railroad and shunting work. In the aforementioned period 145 different violations occurred—of these 27 were particularly dangerous. A total of 174 passenger trains were held up at entry signals.

Violations often occur owing to drunkenness. I will cite one instance. S. Abildayev, reserve duty officer at Terenozek Station, and A. Kulnilzov, train marshaler, were boozing 23 June in broad daylight. All this time the freightcars stood idle, waiting to be unloaded. Such things became possible because labor and public discipline has grown weak in the division.

Sh. Serikbayev, chief of the Kzyl-Orda division cadre department, Kzyl-Orda.

You may have heard a great deal recently about legal reform and about how our legislation must be rendered more humane. But I believe that there is enough humaneness, and that exactingness toward the person, as a citizen of his country, must be comprehensively boosted. This applies above all to the honest fulfillment of the most important article of the USSR Constitution on the universal nature of labor. Already there are too many young people who don't work and don't study but live off their soft-hearted parents. They set a bad example for young people who work conscientiously.

I will not speak for the other regions, but here in our Krasnodar Kray people who are not engaged in production work often violate discipline and public order. A precise count of employment must be urgently organized in every city, settlement, and village in order to expose the people who are avoiding work. Furthermore, I would like to reinforce our militia's self-confidence in establishing public order.

A. Markov, people's voluntary militia patrolman at construction material plant, Sochi.

Last year Comrade Konev, a teacher, was dismissed from a school in Irshava, Transcarpathian Oblast, for drinking. Here the teachers' collective was convinced that a teacher with a passion for spirits won't teach his pupils anything good.

But some time passed and they have been asked, on the instructions of the Irshavskiy Party Raykom, to reinstate teacher Konev in work at the school. Aren't we liberal?

Another fact. A woman drunk has been dismissed at the Irshava Abrasive Plant for absenteeism lasting more than 1 month. More than 900 people—virtually the entire collective—voted unanimously in favor of this. Well then? This woman has once again been taken on at the same plant on the instructions of the Irshavskiy Party Raykom.

I am a worker in the Irshavskiy Party Raykom and not an anonymous figure. That is why I told the editorial office my full name. But I earnestly ask you not to sign my letter with my surname since I still want to be able to work.

A worker at a Ukrainian Communist Party raykom, Irshava, Transcarpathian Oblast, Transcarpathian Oblast.

["Economics Department" commentary] Every able-bodied person must, as is well known, take up his work place every working day at a precisely appointed time. An important article in the state's fundamental law and elementary labor routine prompts this. But by no means does everyone come to work at the set time: Some are late, others are absent for the entire day. During the shift people work without making much effort for various reasons.

But what is particularly alarming here? USSR State Committee for Statistics figures show that working time lost last year was greater than the previous year. This applies to industry, construction, and transport alike. Whereas in the first year of the 5-year plan the losses of working time in our industry amounted to 22 million man-days, last year they amounted to 24.5 million. In construction, instead of 6.9 million man-days they reached 8.2 million. The highest level of lost work time—one-third higher than the mean throughout the country—is in Uzbekistan, Georgia, and Tajikstan. Here even now there have been no appreciable changes.

Idle time within shifts accounts for a considerable proportion of the loss of labor. In industry this increased by more than 20 percent in the period under analysis. And it rose 44 percent in construction. Owing to stoppages, more than 1 million (!) workers were, as it were, excluded from production every day. As a result our industry and construction last year failed to supply output worth R30 billion owing to idle time within shifts alone.

The figures for the losses reveal yet another serious defect: Our bosses have become more liberal and more complacent. Last year they were considerably more generous in giving their subordinates permission not to come to work.

What do these facts indicate? Order at work should not be opposed to the democratization of our life. This democracy is not worth a kopek if people don't do more and if, on the contrary, they even work less diligently. The same applies to both leaders and workers. It is not for nothing that the adage runs as follows: "Democracy without labor and without thought is a holey sack." Discussions and debates will not add to the foodstuffs and commodities in the stores.

There is yet another side to the problem. Restructuring involves above all organized skillful work and an efficient production rhythm. A great deal here in fact depends on a radical improvement in the work of supply organs.

The economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] collective guided and united by common economic interests is the most effective force for organizing labor. For when the collective leases a workshop or a plant, people do not stand around doing nothing or take it easy at work. This sharply boosts the return on labor and people's wages and reinforces labor discipline. So, we must be bolder and more energetic in switching to progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration.

Communists are called upon to show an example of orderliness at work. They are the first to be called to account. The role of trade union and Komsomol organizations and labor collective councils must be enhanced in the struggle for sobriety, and bolder use must be made of the legislative acts adopted on this question. The possibilities for increasing the return on labor and strengthening discipline are vast here. The more vigorously we exploit these reserves in practice, the longer the strides we will take and the more successfully restructuring will progress.

Openness on Army's Afghanistan Role Questioned

PM0609154888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 35, 28 Aug 88 p 5

[Artem Borovik article: "Who Won in Afghanistan?"]

[Text] "Goodbye, Kabul" is a new documentary produced by Canale Cinque, Italy's largest TV network, in association with the Soviet NOVOSTI Press Agency. The film was written and narrated by journalist Luigi Moncalvo and shot by Roberto Gasparrotti. The start of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was broadcast in Italy and more recently in the Soviet Union.

While the film's producers can hardly have great affection for the Soviet Armed Forces, they feared they'd be accused of spreading pro-Soviet propaganda. This attests to the fact that theirs is an unbiased attempt to present events in Afghanistan in the spring of 1988. To my mind, the attempt was successful.

Those who visited Afghanistan or simply followed events there are not likely to learn anything new from the film. Still, this documentary was made possible by glasnost and shown on Soviet TV. (Indeed, glasnost doesn't only consist in the opportunity to discover new facts; it also means the freedom to discuss in the press what we used to speak about in whispers at home.)

In his capacity as narrator, Moncalvo asks a Soviet soldier if Kabul looked like Saigon during the Vietnam war. How could the boy know what Saigon looked like 20 years ago? The Soviet press never wrote about it. Not by choice but because the U.S. State Department never permitted a single Soviet reporter into South Vietnam during the war. Meanwhile, I remember Jeff Trimble's report in US NEWS & WORLD REPORT from Afghanistan where he was allowed to travel 20 kilometres in an off-duty Soviet armoured personnel carrier along the dangerous road between Kabul and Jalalabad at the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal. There's a clear imbalance.

I remember the Soviet censors crossing out the word "war" from reports about the Afghan war. To write that Soviet troops had participated in military actions was expressly forbidden. Occasionally one was allowed to write about battles, but on condition Russian or Ukrainian names were replaced by Afghan names. The impression was that our troops had been deployed there on a tree-planting mission. A feature about the Soviet military hospital in Kabul (which is shown in the Italian documentary) was not printed in Soviet newspapers because it described wounded Soviet men.

Memories of the time when glasnost was just a fledgling elicit a bitter smile today. We may feel the same bitterness two years from now, recalling how glasnost sometimes backfires today.

Why are the Italians entitled to know that the 40th Army is still fighting in Afghanistan, while Soviet viewers are not? We are still being told that the Army is "a limited contingent". In the credits at the end of the Italian documentary, the commanders of the 40th Army in Afghanistan were thanked for their assistance in the filming. In the Russian version there is no mention of the Army. The Italians can know, but we can't?

Why can Moncalvo tell his viewers all about Army General Varennikov, while a Soviet journalist cannot? Why do we have to find out about this outstanding general in charge of the Soviet troop withdrawal from a foreign journalist first?

These are trifles but they add up to that fly in the ointment.

Let's forget the "trifles" and face the important questions.

One of the questions the documentary asks is: Does the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan mean that the USSR lost the war against the rebels?

My answer might be this: It's the old thinking that's lost. The pullout signals a victory for the new thinking.

Rewriting of School History Books Proceeds

PM0809155788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Shadrikov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education and USSR minister, by V. Ivanov under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Additions to History Textbooks"; date and place not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] New history textbooks and teaching aids for the 9th and 10th grades have been approved at the USSR State Committee for Public Education. How do they differ from the previous ones? I have asked V. Shadrikov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee and USSR Minister, to tell us about this.

[Shadrikov] It has been obvious for a long time that the USSR history textbooks, especially the textbooks covering the Soviet period, were obsolete and did not match the attained level of the development of historical science. The intolerability of this situation became particularly obvious after M.S. Gorbachev's report devoted to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The need to radically change history teaching in schools also dictated our unprecedented decision not to hold graduation examinations in this subject in 1988.

At the same time we were working actively to improve history textbooks and syllabuses for schools. In 1986 a team of authors embarked on rewriting [pererabotka] the textbooks for senior pupils. Now this work has been virtually completed. In addition, we have compiled a new syllabus for teaching history in the 4th to 10th grades in which the section covering the Soviet period has been particularly thoroughly rewritten. This syllabus has been reviewed by scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences History Institute, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. It will be published in the near future. The difficulty lies in the fact that schools, probably for the first time, have to break new ground ahead of academic science and VUZ's. In VUZ's the situation is different: Students attend lectures, they are able to study primary sources and acquaint themselves with various theories and views which are often diametrically opposed. We, on the other hand, have to reflect an already defined view of historical events—that is our specific task.

[Ivanov] Vladimir Dmitriyevich, could you tell us from what kind of textbooks senior pupils will be learning history this year?

[Shadrikov] Let me begin with the 9th grade. The rewritten textbook for 9th grade students is not yet ready, so they will use the old one. However, by the beginning of the new year when they start learning about the October Revolution, a relatively bulky addendum to the textbook will arrive at schools. It presents a new view of events between 1917 and 1940. For the first time there is extensive mention of the various parties, not just the Bolsheviks, but also the Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries, and Constitutional Democrats. The revolutionary role of the entire left bloc is described. Much attention is paid to the personalities of revolutionaries and their different views of the revolution and postrevolutionary development of Russia. For the first time the addendum to the textbook mentions emigres, albeit only those of the civil war times. There is a detailed description of the NEP and the differences which existed in the party and the country at that time. And, of course, serious attention is paid to the development of the administrative-command system and the creation of the repressive apparatus and Stalin's role in this. The addendum covers the history of the country right up to the beginning of the Great Patriotic War and analyzes the mistakes that influenced the course of events during the early months of the war.

In addition to the addendum to the textbook, schools will also receive an anthology entitled "Pages of History: Facts, Problems, People" at the beginning of the new year. This is a collection of various documents and press material covering the prewar period of history in greater detail. As distinct from the addendum, the anthology is intended primarily for teachers, but it seems to me that acquaintance with it will also be interesting for students.

As for the 10th grade pupils, their old textbook has been radically rewritten. Special emphasis is placed on coverage of the 20th party congress and assessment of Stalin's personality cult. There is an account of Khrushchev's work, his merits and his mistakes, and the deepening stagnation and bureaucratic methods of national economic management during Brezhnev's times. Naturally, the textbook reflects our present and the restructuring which is under way in the country right up to the 19th party conference.

I am glad that it has proved possible to rewrite the textbook in time, but at the same time I can see its shortcomings, especially in its coverage of the last 25 years. Unfortunately, a serious scientific analysis of this period does not yet exist.

[Ivanov] Vladimir Dmitriyevich, you get the impression that much work still lies ahead?

[Shadrikov] Quite. In the near future an open competition will be announced for history textbooks for the 9th and 10th grades. Naturally, we would also like to have new textbooks for the other grades, but that is not quite so urgent. We are expecting that not just scientists and methodologists but also major literary figures and writers on current affairs will take part in the compilation of the new textbooks. In my view history textbooks should be reprinted every year. At the moment they are reprinted every 4 years. This is an intolerably long period, and radical change is required here.

Reading of Churbanov Trial Indictment Continues

LD0809165788 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

"If someone tried to keep aloof from the epidemic of bribery, which swept Uzbekistan in those days, he was smashed. If you did not pay people off, they would destroy you". This is the statement from the testimony by a witness in the case of Yuriy Churbanov, former USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, and a number of senior officials of Uzbekistan's bodies of internal affairs. Today the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court chaired by Mikhail Marov continued reading out the indictment in the case.

Chiefs of the administrations of internal affairs of some of Uzbekistan's regions, among them Dzhamal Dzhamalov, Yakub Makhamadzhanov, Salim Sabirov, Khushvan Norbutayev and Muin Norov—by no means stood aloof from the ugly phenomenon of bribery. The party of the indictment read out today concerns precisely them. "Have you reported to the chief?" Dzhamalov's subordinates used to ask one another. That was the euphemism for "have you paid him off?" Bribes were given for everything: for promotion on the job, for awarding a higher rank, simply for protectionism. So that he would not sack a person or did not fire him. Now Dzhamalov is accused with getting 42,000 roubles in bribes and paying off 37,000. Thus Dzhamalov gave 10,000 roubles to Churbanov.

The others also tried to keep abreast. Norbutayev simply did not greet a person but summoned him to his office and looked at him expectingly. Having taking a bribe he muttered under his breath "well, now go back and work". This meant that he would not for some time reprimand his subordinate, using every pretext. Norbutayev is charged with getting nearly 65,000 roubles in bribes and paying off more than 79,000. Salim Sabirov was referred to in testimony by witnesses in the following way: "We did what he told us to do. Nobody dared to do against his orders." Thus Sabirov got almost 95,000 roubles and gave 66,000 roubles in bribes and paid off almost 43,000. Muin Norov got almost 40,000 and paid off more than 60,000. In all probability the reading of the indictment expected to last for four days will not end today, since its volume is more than 1,500 pages. The whole criminal case is placed on record in 110 volumes.

Further Reportage on Ovechkin Hijacking Trial

LD0809173688 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Irkutsk, Siberia September 8 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Khodii reports:

Senior Air Hostess Irina Vasilyeva testified today at the trial of members of an armed group of criminals, the Ovechkin family, who attempted on March 8, 1988 to hijack a TU-154 airliner making a flight on Irkutsk-Kurgan-Leningrad route and to compel its crew to fly abroad. The hearing of the case is in its third day.

One hour before the airliner's landing at the Leningrad Airport on March 8, the Ovechkin family consisting of eleven persons, including the mother and four young children, demanded that the crew alter the course and make the landing in London. The crew was threatened with arms and a home-made explosive device. The plane landed at a Soviet airport near Leningrad. In order to compel the crew to take off immediately and fly across the state border of the USSR, the terrorists killed Air Hostess Tamara Zharkaya held hostage and opened fire in the passenger compartment. Seeing that their plans cannot be achieved, the elder Ovechkin brothers exploded the device, causing a fire in the passenger compartment. Four of them committed suicide, first shooting their mother dead at her request.

The actions of the plane's hijackers caused the death of three passengers. As a result of the fire and shooting, of disorderly evacuation of passengers, when many of them were compelled to jump out of the plane onto the tarmac, 35 persons sustained bodily harm of various gravity. The airliner burned out. The damage to the state amounted to 1,371 thousand roubles. Among the terrorists, only the 28-year old Olga, 17-year old Igor and their underage brothers and sisters remained alive.

An open trial is held in the conference hall of the Irkutsk Airport. Employees of Irkutsk Air Services Enterprise, members of the airliner's crew and more than 30 people who were injured during the hijack gathered in the hall. Two of the Ovechkin family are in the dock: Olga, 28, and Igor, 17. They are faced with charges under two articles of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation.

It was established how thoroughly and cynically the crime had been prepared. The names of those who supplied the criminals with weapons and helped them make three explosive devices were given.

The whole family participated in preparing a plane hijack. 100 cartriges and three explosive devices were made.

The first day of the trial showed that the defendants pinned much hope on mitigating circumstances. Olga is six months pregnant. She says that she tried to stop her brothers from trying to hijack a plane, but that they intimidated her and that she remembers little of what took place on board the airliner that day. She pleaded only partially guilty. Despite a great number of incriminating circumstances and testimonies of witnesses, Igor did not plead guilty on all counts. He regards his young age as an excuse. Next day, however, he pleaded partially guilty. Igor said at the trial: "I have been telling them: We have no business in Britain".

Corruption in Gold Artels, Solutions Discussed

PM0809152588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Aug 88 p 2

[TASS correspondent V. Ternovskiy special report for TRUD: "Devious Ways of Gold. Truly Massive Misappropriation of the Noble Metal From the Country's Goldfields Discussed at USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium Session"]

[Text] The question of the state of legality at the mining enterprises and prospecting artels of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Precious Metals and Diamonds has been examined. Reports were heard from the leaders of the prosecutor's offices of the Yakutsk ASSR and Magadan and Amur Oblasts.

Prospecting artels are one of the oldest and most effective forms of cooperative organization in gold mining. Work in them is based on economic accountability and cost covering, and is therefore efficient. Not for nothing can the prospectors mine the same amount of precious metal three to four times more cheaply than the state. The artels use equipment much better and in a really proprietorial way, and labor productivity is high. It is appropriate to recall in this connection that approximately one-third of all gold in our state is produced by prospectors.

But is everything rosy in the artels? Unfortunately, there are ample grounds for concern. Take the following figures, for instance. In the last 2 years around 100 kg of precious metal has been confiscated from all sorts of criminals. You would think that someone would have noticed the loss and raised the alarm? No way. The accounts at the artels and at the gold mines were, as they say, in "apple pie order."

It should be said that the trouble in the sector forced prosecutor's office organs to mount a thorough investigation. Particularly in the artels. Cases of blatant violations of financial and economic discipline and the democratic principles of self-management are more common there, and conditions are maintained for embezzlement, expenditure, and abuse. For instance, prosecutor's office investigative units and internal affairs organs have recently discovered more than 30 criminal groups operating in prospecting artels of the "Zabaykalzoloto," "Lenzoloto," and "Uralzoloto" Associations and a number of others. Some 200 officials and materially responsible persons have been convicted. Note that in recent years more than 30 artel chairmen, their deputies, and mining enterprise officials have been indicted for embezzlement, bribe-taking, and receipt of stolen goods.

Did these punitive measures cool the ardor of those who love to live off the state? Alas, there has been no tangible breakthrough. Why, you may well ask? The fact is that the leaders of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, while verbally admitting to scandalous outrages, had until recently restricted themselves to assurances and promises to eradicate shortcomings and had taken no resolute measures to help prospecting artels to instill order.

The problem of ensuring the safekeeping of the precious metal remains acute—there have been widespread instances of violations of the regulations relating to gold surveying commissions, containers of gold-bearing concentrate have been left unguarded, and concentrate has been delivered to gold reception combines without the proper documentation. This is a direct route to embezzlement. Abramov, a worker at the "Indigirskaya" Prospecting Artel, was arrested in Yakutsk having stolen almost half a kilogram of gold. Around 40 kg of the precious metal have been confiscated from embezzlers and foreign currency speculators in prospecting artels in Magadan Oblast.

There is one important feature in many of these stories—the embezzlement took place over a long period. A group of surveyors operated with impunity for 7 years at the "Sevvostokzoloto" Association's "Soyuz" Artel, for instance. It stole more than 6 kg of gold.

So what was the reaction of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Precious Metals and Diamonds that was set up last April? Yes, the same as before. Embezzlers, it said, should be found by the militia and the prosecutor's office. There is no particular concern within this department about safeguarding output and organizing effective control of its safekeeping. What is the point of talking seriously about procedures if even shipments of precious metal are in many cases carried by cars and are...unguarded. Note that the journeys are often long—200-400 km.

What lies behind this pointed lack of concern? Needless to say, there are many reasons.

The collegium session noted that artels have still not eradicated cases of a large number of suppliers being paid off.

The criminal investigation with regard to such people showed that they often buy up stolen goods, issue bribes, and engage in forgery. Their clan is a breeding ground for the emergence of organized embezzlement of valuable materials at national economic enterprises. G.A. Reznik, deputy chairman for supplies at the "Amurzoloto" Association's "Tynda" Artel, used to buy up stolen spares from the workshop at the "Bamstroymekhanizatsiya" Trust. The amount he embezzled ran into tens of thousands of rubles. A group of criminals operated at same trust's No 158 mechanized column. It did business with the "Vpered" Artel, whose officials settled accounts with the embezzlers in cash, did not register materials and equipment, and wrote off the money by concocting fictitious accounts. Such things also happen because violations of democratic principles of management are relatively common in artels and the chairmen have usurped power in many of them. And artels become a kind of refuge, a breeding ground for people with previous convictions for self-seeking crimes. Last year, for instance, prosecutors dismissed more than 70 people with previous convictions who had been accepted for leadership or materially responsible positions in the area.

It is indisputable that considerable responsibility for the prevailing situation also lies with internal affairs organs, the effectiveness of whose work has diminished of late. The situation is compounded by shortcomings in the activity of prosecutor's office and MVD investigative apparatuses. A case of embezzlement and bribery at the "Zabaykalye" Artel lasted more than 5 years. The Semipalatinsk Internal Affairs Administration Department got caught up in red tape and committed violations of the law in discovering and investigating abuses at the "Altayzoloto" Combine's "Irtysh" Artel.

This is the conclusion made at the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium session: Gold is a national asset and its careful protection is undoubtedly the responsibility above all of the leadership of the Glavalmazzoloto [expansion unknown] and monitoring and law enforcement organs.

The collegium outlined a number of specific measures for eradicating shortcomings and stepping up observance of legality at prospecting artels. A submission has been sent to the Glavalmazzoloto on the need to eradicate the causes of violations of economic legislation in the sector.

Investigator on Kazakhstan Corruption Cases

PM0909090088 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 36, 3-9 Sep 88 (Signed to Press 1 Sep 88) pp 6-7

[Interview with V. Kalinichenko, senior investigator for important cases under the USSR general prosecutor, by correspondent A. Uglanov: "Not Only Punishment"; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The period of stagnation, when many people fell into a kind of "slumber," generated unprecedented activity on the part of another, comparatively small section of the population in organizing all kinds of embezzlement, exaggerated reporting, and bribe-taking.

Instances of criminal activity on the part of many officials have been made public, and the investigation of these cases has been carried out, largely thanks to the cleanup work the party is doing in all spheres of life.

The investigation of the criminal activity of certain former senior officials in Kazakhstan is being carried out by a group under the leadership of V. Kalinichenko, senior investigator for important cases under the USSR general prosecutor.

[Uglanov] We recently saw at the USSR Prosecutor's Office an exhibition of valuables worth R8 million confiscated by T. Gdlyan's group in Uzbekistan from just two people.

[Kalinichenko] In Kazakhstan the successes in confiscating valuables are rather more modest, and not because there were fewer abuses in that republic. But everyone has his own tactics in investigation, his own understanding of the causes of events.

Since the end of the seventies, in publicizing materials from the investigation of such cases as the "Sochi-Krasnodar" case, the "cotton" case, and the "USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry" case, we have talked about bribe-taking, embezzlements, and abuses as if they were individual anomalies. The truth was that thousands of people were involved in committing crimes.

[Uglanov] What, in your view, are the reasons for the moral degeneration of these people?

[Kalinichenko] "Knowing how to live" became the norm of behavior among a certain circle of people, who undoubtedly included some real "smart dealers." They began to steal sums measured in hundreds of thousands, to set up their own unofficial corporations, to go in for bribing useful people on the principle "the higher the better." In the course of the investigation the list of candidates for trial grew to such an extent that the question arose: "What do we do?"

Under our legislation bribes and embezzlements are classified as particularly dangerous crimes, with correspondingly severe penalties. All the same, I personally am firmly convinced that we cannot do without a differentiated approach to everyone. And is it realistic to take criminal proceedings against thousands of people?

[Uglanov] So that means absolving some people of criminal responsibility? But what about the principle that "no one who has committed a crime should go unpunished"?

[Kalinichenko] The principle is right, but there is punishment and then there is punishment. By no means all problems can be resolved by draconian measures. The vast majority of those whom we are punishing today for the past might have lived honestly had the economic and social conditions for the commission of crimes not existed.

Moreover everything is so interwoven that no investigating apparatus can suffice to unravel the criminal ties that grew up.

[Uglanov] What is the solution?

[Kalinichenko] I would like to begin my reply to this question with the words of G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee: "The real normalization of the situation in the republic was promoted not so much by punitive, destructive measures as by constructive measures." After beginning our investigation at the Karaganda motor transport enterprise in spring 1986, we realized that if we took the path of instituting criminal proceedings against everyone involved in bribery, we could paralyze the work of a whole series of enterprises and organizations.

Naturally, there is no question of universal forgiveness. For instance, one of the "best" officials, formerly a raykom first secretary, was arrested. A few years ago his picture was even published in a central newspaper as a portrait of a "Hero of Today," while he was deliberately and cunningly drawing dozens more minor rayon leaders into bribery.

Today he regrets what he did, but cannot keep quiet about his "merits." It is to his credit, he believes, that he kept more than a million rubles in bribe money not "under the mattress," but in savings books, and therefore he was not undermining our economy, he was promoting its development in every way.... He also claims that when he became raykom secretary he did not need any bribes, because before his transfer to his new post he already had savings of R500,000. So he was forced into crime, under pressure....

But all the same, there are not many people like that, and we have decided to make an unusual decision—to drop criminal proceedings against secondary participants in embezzlement and givers of bribes who have sincerely repented their deeds and made good the damage done to the state, because the law allows this. The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee has given us its full support.

[Uglanov] The political resolution of the problem is undoubtedly necessary, but what about the fact that in Kazakhstan billions of rubles "fell by the wayside," yet only a few million were returned?

[Kalinichenko] Yes, there were many abuses in Kazakhstan. There were "cotton cases," as in Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenia. The method of overreporting and deducting money was absolutely identical: 40 percent of the value of the excess reporting of raw cotton went into the wage fund. The question is how to regain this money.

In Kazakhstan we have appealed to the population through the press, and not, as it turns out, without result. In literally only 2 years more than R15 million of stolen money has been returned in the republic. The time has come to get rid of the atmosphere of fear, when the arrival of an investigating group in a city, of which the backbone is made up, incidentally, of investigators from the republican prosecutor's office and internal affairs organs, literally paralyzes the lives of hundreds of people. They must realize that the state trusts them and will not punish them for its own errors during the stagnation years.

[Uglanov] And what is the attitude to your innovations on the part of those under investigation and the magistrates, if the case reaches the stage of judicial investigation?

[Kalinichenko] Judicial practice is such that one often comes across a lack of confidence, on the part of those under investigation, in an honest confession and voluntary restitution of the damage as attenuating circumstances. The courts sometimes forget that large sums of money and valuables have been received not only as a result of the investigator's skillful work, but also thanks to the sincere wishes of the accused, who has been persuaded to tell the truth.

Unfortunately, from the behavior of many people we have come across it is obvious that they are prepared to pay bribes on any scale to escape punishment, but they will not return what they stole to the state, because they do not believe it will do them any good. And they are not without reason. It can happen that the more the suspect pays back, the bigger the sentence he receives—the court is simply horrified by the enormous sums. So there is something for the judicial organs to think about too.

[Uglanov] Can one say that any clan groups were active in the system of embezzlement and bribery in Kazakhstan, or that national differences between the republic's inhabitants played a certain role?

[Kalinichenko] For some reason, many people speak of the events in Alma-Ata in 1987 as purely nationalist manifestations. I do not entirely agree with that, because I witnessed these events. From my viewpoint, it was a kind of mutiny, whipped up on the basis of national sentiments, on the part of "gilded" youth, who were afraid of losing the privileges of their wealthy parents and had taken the first steps toward acquiring assets they had not earned. The change of leadership of the Kazakhstan party organization, in the conditions of restructuring, foreshadowed a change in the situation, and not in their favor.

For some of them, one of the high-ranking people under investigation, about whom legends had grown up over the years, had become a kind of "deity." He was not only a party leader, but also leader of a major Kazakh clan. They were preparing to set up a museum in his homeland, in the house where he was born and raised, and they already had the "exhibits." There were huge porcelain vases with his portrait on, hand-worked carpets, pictures showing him against the background of the Alatau mountains, calling his people onward with the gesture of a Roman emperor.... Finally, there was a plethora of awards, every conceivable or inconceivable one, and various commemorative badges, even the medal "For Exemplary Guarding of the State Border." Much can also be learned from a photograph in the file, showing this man against the background of his huge personal library, with the Gold Star of Hero of Socialist Labor and five Orders of Lenin. He is attentively reading a book which is turned in such a way that when you hold the photograph you see the "collected works" of L.I. Brezhnev.

[Uglanov] Has the investigation revealed the involvement of former republican leader D. Kunayev in the bribery that flourished in Kazakhstan?

[Kalinichenko] In my view, you can only speak of someone's involvement in a crime when there is irrefutable evidence giving grounds for the presentation of a charge. In the investigation of such cases, the material collected is extensive. Hundreds of officials figure in it. But the court does not always agree with the judgment of the investigation, and the court has the last word. An assessment of Kunayev's role in the favoritism, bribery, and other abuses that flourished in Kazakhstan has been given by the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

[Uglanov] Where is D. Kunayev now?

[Kalinichenko] The 76-year-old pensioner lives at home, close to the memorial bust that was set up in his honor in the park opposite.

[Uglanov] From items published on the investigation of cases of corruption involving officials in Uzbekistan we know that "threads" extend from there to other regions. Do you have similar information on Kazakhstan?

[Kalinichenko] I have practically answered that question. I advocate a cautious approach to such judgments. After all, the exposure of a case of bribery virtually always is based on evidence that is objectively confirmed. The main thing is to study everything in full, and then make a decision. T. Gdlyan was right when he said: "There is no 'Uzbek' case and no 'Kazakh' case." It is our common sorrow from the years of stagnation. How similar was the pattern of crimes committed in the most diverse union republics, how many of the most diverse people fed on the "goose that laid the golden eggs"—as one repentant high-ranking bribe-taker put it in a statement.

Economic 'Extortion' in Stepanakert Examined

PM0809132388 Moscow TRUD in Russian
4 Sep 88 p 2

[Report by G. Volovich under the "From Journalist's Notebook" rubric: "Karabakh in People's Faces and Opinions"]

[Text] Irkutsk-Stepanakert—For many years my good friend Arkadiy Allakhverdyan, who has lived in the north of Irkutsk Oblast since his youth, had proposed vacationing in his motherland, in Nagorno-Karabakh, the wonderful nature, nut groves, bread baked in the burning hot brick oven, the sweet coolness of the springs.... I smiled sadly: The abstract fruit orchard of Karabakh, far from Siberia, did not belong to the realities of a routine vacation.

And suddenly a telegram from the editorial office: A trip to Stepanakert.

The city named for the brave revolutionary Stepan Shaumyan, which had ended the strike 3 days before and was at work, seemed to me at the time to be entirely tranquil and calm. Smoking asphalt was being laid at the crossroads. Posters announced a soccer match. Old men played nardy [not further identified] among the bushes covered in clusters of violet flowers.

Tumanyan Street particularly attracted me. It exuded antiquity. The pink stone individual houses with their semicircular windows caught in an intricate ornamental pattern of latticework were redolent of a comfortable existence and strong family foundations. In one of them live Arkadiy's sister Amaliya, the mother of six children, and her husband Mikhail, a taxi driver, or Mishik, as his wife calls him. However many times I entered their home, it was never empty: Their daughters—Karine, Lorisa, and Bella—were there with their grandchildren, Ashkhen had flown in from Yerevan, Sveta had telephoned from Baku, their youngest, Amayak, or Amoshka, had brought his friends, and relations from the country had arrived.

I spent several evenings on Tumanyan Street, retelling everything I had seen and heard during the day without imposing my opinion, merely checking the correctness of my impressions.

"At the hospital today I took a man and a woman with their children," Mishik commented. "They asked if I would drive them to their village. Why not, I said, get in. They were Azerbaijanis. Their child had been ill for a long time but they were afraid to travel to the hospital." He fell silent. "There are Azerbaijanis among our taxi drivers. Our people advise us not to talk with them. Why not? We have grown up together since childhood. We studied, we became friends. They know our language and I know theirs. What is there to divide us?"

The lemon pears thudded to the ground from the trees. You had the feeling that the world was finally returning to normal, that the months of destruction, the frenzy of meetings, the night of the crowd of many thousands under the torrential rain—that it was all in the past. When suddenly at sunset one day a rumble was heard as though the stands of a sports stadium had started speaking all together.

The inhabitants of the houses poured out onto the street. Coming up Tumanyan Street, causing the sidewalk to shake, was an angry mob brandishing fists and chanting in unison: "Ar-me-nia! To a victorious end! He who is not with us is not an Armenian!" Amaliya, hiding in the yard, choked back her tears: "My God, surely it's not all starting again?"

Meanwhile, the crowd had left the area and was proceeding to the central square. Arkadiy and I followed. I wondered: Now that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution has been adopted, now that such a broad program for the autonomous oblast's development has been outlined—what slogans would now be heard at the meeting? But essentially there was no meeting. The square was reminiscent of an anthill and movement inside it was chaotic. Clusters of people merged, separated, and came together again. A circle of listeners eagerly imbibing their words would close immediately around the speakers. The square was alive with rumors. It was said that 30 young men had been arrested in Stepanakert, that they had been taken to Agdam and were being beaten there. Someone shouted: "Down with prosecutor Vasilenko!" The square took up the cry. In the morning I asked the prosecutor how many men had been arrested and what for. Two, he replied. For homemade bombs. They threw one into a house—luckily, it did not explode. Another rumor: The food at the dairy combine has been poisoned, one person has died and five others are close to death. The Azerbaijani foreman was to blame, of course. I asked the demonstrators whether anyone had seen in the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH the explanation that there had been an ordinary accident, that there had been a leakage of ammonia, that output from that sector had not been shipped out, and that no hospital patients had been poisoned? Alas, they stuck to their story: sabotage! And for a week the city bought no milk or smetana.

Rumors, rumors. At the silk combine, it is being said, the Azerbaijanis will be paid for the strike days. I telephoned director R. Atayan, who replied that it was a lie. But have you heard that of the R400 million allocated to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Baku is taking half?..

I do not know who is engaging so methodically and persistently in compiling "news" of this kind. But someone is. Someone needs it. In the nervous atmosphere of Stepanakert a hint is often enough to grow into "terrifying" details and to heighten suspicion. A marked shortage of truthful information is being felt. But how to satisfy the need for such information? Dispelling rumors is an undertaking for Don Quixote. You cannot please everyone. Perhaps something different is needed here: The city and oblast leaders should go to the people more often and deal directly with those who are still captive to odious, uncompromising appeals, those whose heads have been filled with the utmost confusion in recent months thanks to the efforts of "Karabakh" and "Krunk." And the local press, which the population studies literally line by line, should dot the i's not sporadically but daily and remove public stress points promptly.

On the first Saturday after the strikes I visited the electrical equipment plant assembly shop. Work was not going well in the Komsomol youth team: A day off had been organized that day on a neighboring sector. But it was something else which perturbed the young men and women. Stereotyped questions came thick and fast: Would the Constitution be changed? Would they allow Armenian history to be taught in the schools? WOuld they stop destroying ancient Armenian temples? Why is the truth about Sumgait being concealed?..

Here a woman with blazing eyes came forward from behind the others' backs:

"I am from Sumgait. I know why you write that 32 people were killed and call it the work of bandits. Because a greater figure would be genocide!"

"Who said that genocide can be determined by some figure? Genocide is the criminal physical annihilation of a people," I tried to explain to the woman, but someone's voice broke in:

"Go away, mother. You won't prove it to them in any case. Karabakh is being oppressed morally, ethically. Call it moral genocide...."

Well, we newspapermen ourselves gave rise to this "imagery": the metastases of profit, the escalation of callousness.... And now we have moral genocide.

I understood what the young people were implying: instances of the infringement of the oblast' socioeconomic interests and disregard for national feelings on the part of the republic's former leadership. This was recognized at the well-known session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. And locally it is even more obvious. The industrial potential of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is very small. The largest enterprise—the silk combine—has no complete production cycle. Selling millions of meters of undyed textile at R1 per meter to the Sheki City combine, the Karabakh people are as it were robbing themselves. For dozens of years the question of creating a dying shop in Stepanakert has been raised but the republic's ministry preferred to install this production facility in Sheki, leaving Karabakh the role of an appendage providing raw material.

It is also illogical that an agrarian oblast should have no grain reception centers, no flour or mixed feed plants, and no canning industry. The construction industry base is nil. Even the oblast supply and sales administration depots are outside Karabakh. You can see the destroyed country roads impassable in rain. At the hotel there is a daily schedule for drawing tap water. In a region of water springs!

"I agree that many mistakes have been made," I said to the agitated workers at the electrical equipment plant. "But do you know about the program for developing the oblast? New plants, roads, a water pipeline, and even the word "Armenian," which has disappeared from the name of the Stepanakert drama theater, will appear. An end has been put to the isolation from Armenia and the doors have been opened wide to economic and cultural links...."

"A program? Fine. But surely we have not had a natural disaster, a flood, a Chernobyl? Why should the country take hundreds of millions of rubles from someone? And where is the guarantee that this time the money will be used in Karabakh's interests?" "The guarantee is restructuring itself. The guarantee is not to wait for someone to do something for you. You will get nothing from talking, from the habit of looking for culprits everywhere, isn't that so?"

On rereading articles about the nature of the emergence of the "national factor," I recorded the opinion of one Soviet economist: "Where there is real equality among people—and it is above all economic equality which acts as the basis of any equality—there are few contradictions. What kind of a collective it is, single-nation or multinational, is unimportant. In a multinational collective the element of inequality is aggravated by suspicions of national discrimination. And unless the problem is solved radically, that is, unless genuine equality is really ensured for everyone, then the national factor, becoming overgrown with additional deposits and contradictions, is transformed into what is truly an independent, self-willed, autonomous force, often confusing the actual thrust of the question...."

"Well and good," I said to the electrical equipment workers. "Let me ask you a question too. Your shop was constructed 2 years ago, but the impression is that the construction workers have not yet left. The floors have not been finished, cement dust swirls up with every step and you breathe this dust. The window frames have not been fitted—in winter you must work in fur coats. The wash basins have been boarded up. Why are you so patient here in your own home?"

"We agree to be patient," someone's voice rang out, "as long as we are joined to Armenia."

This is perhaps the "self-willed force" which is prepared to impart an appearance of "inter-nation conflict" even to domestic disturbances. And this "force" is, incidentally, very convenient to some enterprise directors, trade union committees, and city and oblast "fathers," since it relieves them of the obligation to be concerned for minimum working and daily living conditions for workers. "We have no rights," officials assert. "Baku will not let us move one step." Consequently it is nothing other than Baku's "policy" which is to blame for the fact that the illumination engineers' floors are dusty, that the silk combine workers' ventilation does not work, that the seamstresses have no canteen even though the local catering administration is in disarray. And the empty market shelves at the height of the bountiful Karabakh summer—are they a Baku intrigue? Enough! In the face of this position of parasitism even Armenia would throw up its hands. It is convenient for a bureaucrat to hide his idleness behind any screen and doubly so if the screen bears a plate reading: "Careful: national factor!"

But this screen is to the liking of far from everyone in Karabakh. I recall a meeting of workers at the "Azgazstroy" trust No 5 construction and installation administration in Stepanakert. It was 3 days since the strike had ended but people were still idle: There were no materials or work front. So they decided to listen to their chief, G. Ismaylov: How were they to live in future? Alas, 20 minutes before the meeting the chief fled from the collective yet again, for the fourth time, secretly allocating leave for himself: He was afraid to look people in the eye.

But the talk took place—a frank, anguished, keen talk:

A. Agadzhanyan, fitter: I have been working here for 10 years, and we receive virtually no oxygen cylinders. Every welder buys them for himself by hook or by crook. If I have to move a load to our sector I seek out a truck and give the driver money myself. Should I work like that?

A. Marutyan, welder: I have never had dealings with the militia, but suddenly I am summoned to the department for combatting embezzlements of socialist property and speculation. You have been receiving carbide? they ask me. Yes I have, I say, two drums. How much did you pay? I admitted that I paid R20 for each. I thought now they would look into why we were given carbide for money. But everything is quiet.

A. Abraman, welder: I want to work—they will not let me. They took my welding unit and gave it to someone else. They brought a new unit and said: Give us R150 and you will work....

These surprising speeches were heard at the meeting at the No 5 construction and installation installation as though it were not a state enterprise but a private store where almost everything is bought and sold. And the workers themselves emphasized the fact that these procedures have nothing to do with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. That the conflict between the administration and the workers has been dragging on not for months but for years. That three work superintendents are already being punished for large-scale embezzlements. That the behavior of Ismaylov, who could allow himself to steal an official Moskvich van and to use it for his personal purposes for nearly 3 months during the strike, was a challenge to the collective. And that Ismaylov, as a Communist and leader, should be responsible for all this.

Although I also heard a different viewpoint voiced in Stepanakert: The gas construction workers' wish to express dissatisfaction with their boss is understandable and just, and it is hard to accuse them of bias inasmuch as both Armenian workers and Azerbaijani workers are angry at the obvious scandals. Nonetheless, it was said, caution must be displayed: If the chief were an Armenian he would be removed ignominiously, but since he is an Azerbaijani it is a delicate matter and people might get the wrong idea. But A. Sarukhanyan, the chairman of the labor collective council and a man alien to phony diplomacy, voiced his opinion in a very principled manner:

"We will not look into who belongs to which nationality. We support the friendship of our peoples and our fraternity but we will not allow anyone to mess up our work for the sake of that."

In the evening, at the house on Tumanyan Street, Mishik commented on this as follows:

"It may seem surprising to you as a visitor, but here we have to pay everywhere. They constructed an automobile repair shop in Stepanakert and then shipped it to Agdam. And under the compulsory plan procedure we had to send our automobiles there to be repaired. Yet we are afraid of leaving them there—they will be plundered. So we say in Agdam: Take the money, sign the documents, and we will put the automobile right ourselves. Imagine, we are paying them not to carry out repairs!"

"What happens there, do they take money only from Armenians?"

"They take it from everyone! Indeed in our region you cannot take a step without money. Give the controller money, give the fitter money, give the lubricator money...."

"Where do you take the money?"

"From our client...."

The extortion system has no nationality. It oppresses, causes anger, and corrupts people where it has taken root. The people are tired of it in Armenia, in Azerbaijan, and in Nagorno-Karabakh. Today I see future calm and good-neighborliness above all in the moral normalization of society.

Presumption of Innocence in Law Discussed

PM0809152388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 7

[Yuriy Feofanov article under rubric "The Law and Our Lives": "Verdict Before Trial"]

[Text] The harsh orders of revolutionary and war times—"to be shot at the scene of the crime" or "to be punished without trial"—appeal to the dark side of the human mind. Of course, these punishments were intended for plunderers, pillagers, looters, and, naturally, saboteurs and spies. The hatred felt by the people who were the victims of this banditry was sometimes so strong that the question of whether the plunderer was caught at the scene of the crime did not even arise. It certainly does not arise when we are reading novels or watching films about those heroic times.

But does this question arise in peacetime, when the law prevails or at least is believed to prevail? When there is no emergency situation that could in any way justify "decisive measures"? I am afraid that very many far from bloodthirsty citizens avoid asking themselves this question when presented with reports on embezzled millions, given the names of high-ranking bribe-takers, and faced with the facts about outrageous tyranny. You can understand the rage and indignation felt by honest people "out for blood." But how can you understand people who create this kind of stir around still unproven crimes? In the name of what? And can they predict the consequences of this for the people's legal consciousness and for the practices of law enforcement organs? Embezzled millions may perfectly well eclipse the law. But a verdict pronounced by a journalist or an investigator who has recourse to the printed word before the person in question has actually been tried is quite capable of influencing the verdict reached by the court itself. Even an independent judge will not find it easy to withstand intense public feeling.

It is possibly more difficult in jurisprudence than anywhere else to unite theory with practice, word with deed. How many fine publicistic articles have been written on the presumption of innocence—the cornerstone of justice. This principle is enshrined in the Constitution: No one may be considered a criminal before a verdict has been passed by a court. Exposing Stalin's lawlessness and horrified by it, we rightly criticize the press of that time and condemn public opinion, shaped by fear, for the way in which honest people were proclaimed criminals and enemies of the people a priori, without any acceptable evidence, while the so-called courts merely had to register the "voice of the people."

We have now reached the age where the law is acquiring its true meaning and becoming equal for all. We have a long way to go before we reach the ideal situation, but a great deal has been achieved nevertheless. The fact that people who used to hold quite high positions and were once untouchable are being brought to trial is evidence of this. Their deeds cause understandable outrage—righteous anger, as they say. But however odious their actions, no deviation from the law or from legal principles must be tolerated even in these cases. However, some are already being publicly proclaimed as criminals, their names given in articles, tight wads of embezzled money shown on television broadcasts, and what is still a subject of inquiry is being spoken of as proven.

I do not think that anyone has the right to criticize an investigator or journalist who writes something or appeals to the public in some other way before the trial has taken place in order to remove the obstacles in the way of exposing titled people suspected of committing a crime. But that person is only suspected of committing a crime—no more than that. Patrons impeding the inquiry and threatening investigators with reprisals must, of course, be named, exposed, and have criminal charges brought against them—there is no question about that. But, given all this, the law must remain the law, and someone suspected of the most serious crimes is not guilty until his guilt has been established by a court. There are no two ways about it!

I can understand the unpopularity of what I have just said. People are seething and outraged by the creeping depravity of the period of stagnation, by the blatant corruption. However, the court should be allowed to decide who is who and what is what. The court, and no one else.

IZVESTIYA Apologizes for Bribe Accusation

PM0809134988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "We Offer Our Apologies"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No 81 published in March 1985 a report entitled "In the USSR MVD." It said that a group of bribe-takers operating within the VUZ system had been exposed in the city of Odessa. This was followed by the names of criminals who had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Among them was the name of Magden, chief of department in the Agricultural Institute. Magden learned that he was a criminal from the paper. It was only in September that the Odessa Oblast Court sentenced him to 4 years' imprisonment.

Later our newspaper (IZVESTIYA No 154, 1985) published details about the real bribe-takers. In that article we wrote: "...Magden, former department chief at the Agricultural Institute, whose case has been referred for trial separately, was also expelled from the party ranks." This sentence conformed with the formal features of the criminal case instituted against Magden but, as it became clear later on, it did not conform with actual facts.

Following an appeal by the USSR Prosecutor's Office, I.N. Magden's case was referred for further investigation, after which the Oblast Court Collegium dismissed the criminal case through lack of any elements of a crime.

Igor Nikitovich Magden has now been reinstated in the party ranks and his office, and he has received monetary compensation. The newspaper offers apologies for having been unwittingly misled by the MVD report and having denigrated the lecturer's honest name.

Chernobyl Zone Service Benefits Clarified

PM0809145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[S. Taranov report under the rubric "Rumors and Facts": "Without Secrecy About the 'Chernobyl Teams' Benefits"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA (No 237) carried a note by reader A. Drozdov "Hushed-up Benefits" in which the writer, who had taken part in the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident, expressed justified puzzlement as to why the Chernobyl rescue workers themselves are unaware of the benefits available to them.

The editorial office receives quite a few letters of this kind. Furthermore, there are known cases of people who, having worked in the "zone" for some time, then embark on an exhausting tour of various authorities demanding out-of-turn allocation of housing, installation of a telephone, the right to buy a car, or to obtain air or railway tickets.... A certain section of the Chernobyl rescue workers is convinced that the local authorities are suppressing relevant government documents in an effort to shake off importune applicants. So what, in actual fact, are the benefits to which they are entitled? I put this question to V. Skulkov, the chief expert of a section of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

It emerged that in the absolute majority of cases the Chernobyl rescue workers have already received what was due to them. While working in the "zone," they retained the basic wages at their main place of work, while receiving separate payments based on a special scale for labor in dangerous conditions, plus better food and a daily allowance. For every month of work they earned 2 additional days of leave. Naturally, the whole period is regarded as part of their working life, and this includes those people who are already entitled to preferential retirement arrangements (that is, personnel working in harmful conditions at production units and so forth.)

Essentially, this is the sum total of all the "secrets" which the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and many local soviet ispolkoms are passing on to applicants. There is no provision for other social benefits, especially benefits relating to the distribution of goods in short supply, be it housing or cars.

But what has given rise to the rumors and unjustified claims? It was the absence from the outset of glasnost in the question of benefits. The government decision was quietly "handed down" to the departments concerned with its implementation without it being published in the press or subjected to open discussion. Excessively zealous officials at certain military registration and enlistment offices, who in their efforts to enlist reservists for work in Chernobyl promised them "all the good things in life," also contributed their share. What they should have done was to tell them honestly and openly what their real rather than their mythical rights consisted of.

Haste in AES Construction Operation Criticized

PM0809145588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from V. Polous under the rubric "'...Off the Record' Letters": "Such a Short Memory"]

[Text] Zaporozhye—I was struck by a note in the 16 July 1988 edition of INDUSTRIALYNOYE ZAPOROZHYE. It begins as follows: "Zaporozhye AES construction workers have completed a crucial technological operation. For the first time ever in our country the concrete for the No 6 sealed reactor core containment structure has been poured in 20 days. Thus the construction workers have outstripped the time alloted for this operation under the normatives by exactly 20 days."

Then the names of the shock workers and their work methods are listed. And finally: "By halving the time taken to pour concrete for the No 6 sealed reactor core containment structure, the construction workers have thus allowed their partners to start their work ahead of schedule and have saved considerable manpower and material resources."

You know, I was horrified. Quite recently people perished at the Chernobyl AES and millions (if not billions) were spent on eliminating the consequences of the accident—still here, if you please.... The concrete pouring time at the Zaporozhye AES has been halved! Not by employing some new equipment or fundamentally new technical solutions. The author of the item stressed: Everything has been done by "well-coordinated actions"! Surely the normatives weren't based on uncoordinated and inefficient actions?

So why was this done? What was the reason—was there a war, a fire, or a flood? No, they simply wanted to put in an early report. Never mind if there's a flood or an explosion or the grass won't grow later on. Have they really not learned from the following experience?! You recently reported an explosion during the repair of a blast furnace at the "Zaporozhstal" Plant. The approximately 17 percent reduction in the repair time without due grounds has been cited as one of the causes of this. Now the time for constructing a concrete containment structure has been halved. So what can we expect? How far can one worship figures and how far can beating timetables become an end in itself?

V. Polous, Zaporozhye

Historian Lambastes Stalin, War Record

PM0809161788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Sep 88 p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Mertsalov: "Who Needs Legends. Reading the Responses to the Article 'The Myth of the Great Strategist'"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The article on I.V. Stalin's role in the Great Patriotic War (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 15 May this year) brought many responses. Most of the letters are marked by their exceptional sincerity. I shall leave aside the letters thanking the author and the newspaper for telling the truth. Let us talk with the opponents.

"Stalin is my idol," Officer A. Guzov, who participated in the Great Patriotic War, claims. "To this day his portrait hangs on my wall next to V.I. Lenin."

In this section of the mail there is not a single argument which did not exist in earlier Stalinist propaganda. Their authors avoid an analysis of the myth of "the great strategist," "the brilliant leader." And as a rule they are essentially silent about Stalin's crimes. In their opinion, Stalin's critics are people who "bear a grudge." Hence the conjectures that I personally was "punished in Stalin's time" and that I am "taking revenge on Stalin." There are also reproaches in the letters: "Where were you at that time, what did you yourself do?"

I was where tens of millions of Soviet citizens were—at the front. Along with everyone else I was objectively striving to correct with my own blood the fatal errors made by Stalin and his entourage. Like millions of others, I believed Stalin was a decent man. In the years 1953 through 1956 we all had our eyes opened.

The comrades believe that I am denying the positive side of Stalin's actions. In I. Kulyabin's opinion, "Stalin created heavy industry, and during the war he moved the plants to the Urals. Whereas Pavlov lost his army, and Vlasov led his army into Hitler's camp. But despite this, Stalin led us to victory. Honor and eternal reverence to him."

It does not occur to the author whether or not a single person could direct such great deeds. The people did not spare themselves in the industrialization, and the evacuation was an enforced business which also was only within the power of millions of people. Now about the tragic mistakes. Obviously, since the beginning of the war the false story about the treachery of the command of the Western front has been firmly entrenched in the author's memory. He highlights certain individual episodes, and distorts them moreover. So, Vlasov alone "went over to the enemy camp." And the army which earlier was under his command continued to fight without him. Rumors about treachery were deliberately increased by propaganda.

N. Yeremin from Moscow believes with full justification that the people accomplished industrialization in the most difficult conditions. "True, these glorified industrial facilities," he continues, "could have been built on full stomachs and without eliminating 'millions of peasants'." This means, in this author's opinion too, that progress was made in spite of Stalin's actions.

One reader ironically quotes Stalin's biography compiled by Aleksandrov, Mitin, Pospelov, and others. I shall cite one excerpt, so that it is clear whence the modern apologists for the "leader of all peoples" get their ideas: "With brilliant perspicacity Comrade Stalin guessed the enemy plans and repulsed them." And this after Stalin's criminal errors in assessing the opposition's intentions in 1941 and 1942. If it were not for the official nature of the publication, it might have been assumed that the authors are simply mocking their idol. Today our readers can see this.

We did not invent the saying that a commander's art is judged by the cost of the victory. In the years 1941 through 1945 Stalin carefully concealed the Soviet people's casualties and exaggerated Germany's losses. Possibly in those days this was justified. But how should we react to it today? "Mertsalov complains about the human losses," K. Albegov writes from the city of Terek, a veteran of the party, labor, the Komsomol and three wars, and a pensioner. "But the question arises: What war has no casualties? Are there norms and limits to losses? What are they?" "Yes, a multitude perished, but there was faith in Stalin."

Is faith in an icon really more important than millions of human lives? Contempt for them can also be found in a number of letters. In the opinion of a reader whose signature is illegible, "the losses were necessary." A. Ivanov is convinced that there was only one choice: victory at any price or defeat.

But beginning with the border battles and ending with the Berlin operation, the Red Army had another choice—victory with little blood spilled, which was promised by Stalin and his entourage before the war. Unfortunately, the Red Army suffered losses which were not twice as heavy, as some authors suggest, but 3.5 or, according to other figures, 5 times as heavy as the losses suffered by the Wehrmacht's Eastern front. The expressions "errors and mistakes" are in actual fact an attempt to justify Stalin.

In reality the interference in the affairs of the General Staff by a dilettante invested with unlimited and extremely harsh power was criminal both in its nature and its results. I shall merely recall Stalin's ban on the basically essential mobilization measures on the eve of the war, and his cancellation of the plan which had unerringly determined the salient of the Wehrmacht's main strike, a factor which gave it the benefit of a 6 to 8-fold superiority over the Red Army in this salient and the element of surprise. It is well known that in 1918 through 1922 V.I. Lenin certainly did not assume military leadership. Stalin, though, invaded virtually all spheres by occupying an excessively large number of posts.

A detail which is typical of the veterans' letters: They recall the flattering descriptions of Stalin by U.S. and British leaders during the war, which are more ascribable to the Soviet Army and people. But we are also familiar with other words by Churchill addressed to like-minded people, when he was not bound by considerations of diplomacy. "For many years Stalin was the dictator of Russia," Churchill said 9 October 1954 at a Conservative Party conference in Blackpool, "and the more I study his career, the more I am struck by his terrible mistakes and his utter ruthlessness toward the people and the masses with whom he had to deal."

Many readers cite the assessment of Stalin as the supreme commander in chief to be found in the memoirs of Soviet military leaders. These assessments, naturally, should be taken into consideration, but it is essential to take into account certain important circumstances. Back in the 18th century scholars observed that all reminiscences are subjective. The eyewitness, the participant in events, inevitably sees only one side and is bound by sympathies or antipathies to the individuals described by him. He himself will be responsible to history and he sets it forth in a light that is favorable for him, sometimes involuntarily. Many memoirists are strongly influenced by the false propaganda stereotypes of bygone years. The prevailing political situation often exerts pressure on them. For these reasons, and also as a consequence of the unreliability of the human memory, different editions of memoirs from one and the same person are often dissimilar.

For many years the memoirs of Soviet commanders have generally been beyond criticism. Many historians and readers interpret them as the ultimate truth—which, of course, is incorrect. Documents which only yesterday were "closed" are now becoming known, and scientific research is being published.

According to the testimony of A. Mirkina, editor of his "Recollections and Reflections," Georgiy Konstantinovich Zhukov talked about the difficulties in working on his book: "During Stalin's time it was one story, during Khrushchev's time it was another, and now there is a third story." A. Mirkina writes: "Under the influence of the time (more precisely: of M.A. Suslov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a fierce opponent of the publication of Zhukov's book) Zhukov himself shifted the emphasis in his description of Stalin, in the degree of our preparation for war, and in a number of other instances." So, at Brezhnev's demand, the author depicted in his book Marshal Zhukov's fictitious desire "to consult" with Colonel Brezhnev while he was in the 18th Army.

The assessment of Stalin's leadership of the war is highly ambiguous and sometimes contradictory in the different works of G.K. Zhukov. The official (Brezhnevian) eulogistic assessment of Stalin clearly dominates in Zhukov's memoirs. It also dominates in Zhukov's conversation with A.M. Samsonov.

But in a letter to the writer V.D. Sokolov, Zhukov stressed something quite different: "A particularly negative aspect of Stalin for the duration of the war was that, because he had a poor knowledge of the practical aspect of preparing the operation of front, army, or forces, he set completely unrealistic deadlines for the beginning of an operation, as a result of which many operations were ill-prepared when they began, the forces suffered unjustified losses, and operations which failed to achieve their goals petered out."

Contrary to the general assessment of Stalin, the idea that he did not heed the specialists at the concluding stages of the war as well is also to be found in Zhukov's memoirs. In his opinion, this even includes the Berlin operation.

Some readers, irrespective of their attitude toward the "leader," interpret the Stalinism theme as a "lightning conductor," an attempt to distract attention from the present (M. Kovalchuk from Gomel). V. Tarabryan from the Voronezh village of Ternovka writes: "...Instead of talking about how restructuring is going, you are bringing against Stalin a case which bears no relation to restructuring." Oh, really? Restructuring and the renewal of our society also means parting with the Stalinist past.

Reader A. Stepashkin notes correctly that victory assisted Stalin "to expiate many sins": In the eyes of a section of the population he acquired a kind of alibi in 1945. A dangerous notion emerged—the contemporary shortcomings in our life emerged in a vacuum as it were, and did not originate in history. Stalin's defenders are venting all their anger on Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

But any event has its prehistory. The great majority of deviations from socialism, many of which have not yet been overcome, emerged in Stalin's time. The shortcomings and flaws in the work of Khrushchev and Brezhnev are also remnants of Stalinism. Everything the readers lay to the charge of these leaders was already inherent in Stalinism.

Stalinism is not simply the personality cult, some inoffensive faith in a god incarnate. It is the usurpation of power over the party and the people, disguised by perverted propaganda of the ideals of Lenin, the revolution, and socialism; it is the deformation of the party. Stalinism is the mass terror, the political murder of millions of innocent people, the depreciation of human life. It is an administrative-command system created by a sovereign and subordinate exclusively to him, and embracing all spheres of social life; the exclusive power of officialdom, the corruption and mafia-type groupings in administration, trade, science, and other areas. Stalinism is the gross violation of elementary democracy artfully concealed by rhetoric about human rights; the absence of a state based on the rule of law; extreme intolerance of all who think differently; the distortion of Lenin's nationalities policy; arbitrariness with respect to religion, the church, and believers.

Stalinism is the alienation of the workers from property and the results of their labor, the forced labor of millions of people based on the most primitive technology, and the plundering of the country's human and natural resources. It is social parasitism and social injustice on the basis of extensive leveling and the privileges of certain strata of the population. Stalinism is the ever-increasing spiritual subjugation of man, his subordination to the dictator's will, the cultivation of suspiciousness, denunciation, servility, and hypocrisy, the destruction of human dignity, a gulf between word and deed. It is theft and drunkenness. Stalinism is deceit at state level, the fabrication of "traitors to the motherland," distortion of the results of collectivization, the First 5-Year Plan, the all-union population census, and other things. It is falsification of the history of the CPSU and the USSR, and of world history.

Stalinism is militant incompetence and persecution of the intelligentsia; it is the "leader's" semiliterate, dogmatically minded entourage and apparatchiks; it is the ignorant interference of the very "leading light of all times and peoples" in many spheres of science, after which they ceased to develop for many years; it is the gulf between politics and science and morality.

Stalinism was a parasite on socialism and discredited both it and the ideas of Communism. To the honor of party and people, by no means everyone gave in to the spiritual and other pressures of Stalinism and its various manifestations. The people's intelligence, honor, and conscientiousness were not eliminated. Leninism is now being revived in revolutionary restructuring and in the decisions of the the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference.

The weeds are being uprooted. This is why the press' attention is also riveted on the deep-lying sources of our present misfortunes. And many readers are quite aware of this. A. Savinov demands that "the crimes of Stalin and his group be more vigorously condemned by the entire nation." V. Kozhedub from Leningrad, in a detailed letter, draws attention "to the cowards, toadies, and hypocrites who prepared the ground for the cult and who have still not disappeared."

I shall end the review with the words of V. Grekov, a designer from Kaluga, who also fought in the war: "It is very good that the time of truth has come."

Journalists Recount Events in Prague Spring

PM0709113288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 35, 28 Aug 88 pp 6-7

[Unattributed feature: "August 1968"]

[Text] 20 Years Later, Eyewitnesses Tell About What Happened in Czechoslovakia. [subhead]

On the night of August 21, 1968, troops from five Warsaw Treaty member-countries entered Czechoslovakia. This was an extraordinary measure prompted by the desire to put an end to the mounting political crisis in the fraternal country, to ward off the threat to the socialist gains of Czechoslovak working people, and to preserve the strategic stability and security of world socialism.

An accurate analysis of the situation that existed then is given in the document "The Lessons of Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in Society After the 13th Congress of the CPCz", approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in December 1970. It details the sources, causes and consequences of the crisis and backs the actions of the allied socialist states.

Soviet journalists working in Prague at the time were keenly aware of the complex suspicious nature of the events taking place there. And although these events developed in front of their eyes, they were not free to write about everything they saw and knew.

This subject was discussed at the "MOSCOW NEWS" editorial office by six eyewitnesses of the events: Aleksandr Didusenko ("TRUD" correspondent in Prague, 1965-1973); Vasiliy Zhuravskiy ("PRAVDA" correspondent, 1962-1969); Vladen Krivosheyev ("IZVESTIYA" correspondent, 1965-68); Andrey Krushinskiy ("KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" correspondent, 1967-72); Vladimir Lukin and Mikhail Polyakov (staff members of the magazine "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW", 1965-68). Round-table chairman was "MN" analyst Eduard Khamidulin, who worked in Prague from 1981 to 1987.

Sources [subhead]

MN: Of course, today it is easier to speak about the past. But still it is useful to remember that even historical process is ambiguous. Anyone of them has plenty of moments with positive and negative sides. Besides, history cannot be changed—what happened happened. How did you assess the situation Czechoslovakia found itself in by August of 1968?

Krivosheyev: A great deal can be explained by the state of the Czechoslovak economy at that time. The events we are speaking about were the result of economic problems. Later on, these problems developed into political ones. By the early 1960s extensive factors of development were already exhausted. Growth rates slowed down and production effectiveness fell off.

By 1965, Czechoslovak economists had substantiated the need to switch the economy over to intensive methods of development. But when the implementation of the reforms began, they ran counter to the administrative-command methods of management and to the interests of bureaucratic-minded officialdom. This is when serious ideological and political conflicts started, conflicts which up to a certain point kept from pouring out into the streets. All this broth was steaming in a kettle with a fairly tight lid.

Lukin: I came to work in Prague in January 1965. And I noticed immediately that one of the world's most beautiful cities was in a neglected state: historical landmarks were in shambles, there were long queues for antiquated streetcars. It was these everyday irritations that caused the citizens' just discontent.

I think that many of Czechoslovakia's economic problems were a result of the fact that the country accepted our mode of development uncritically giving priority to the growth of heavy industry and underestimating those areas of the economy directly affecting people's lives.

Krushinskiy: There's no doubt that the model which was under reform in the 1960s was, in many respects, a replica of our own management system. It was strongly criticized in Czechoslovakia at the time, but in the heat of their criticism they began blaming their own economic blunders on the Soviet Union more and more.

Lukin: As I recall, during discussions at that time in Czechoslovakia much emphasis was placed on the diversification of production and economy as a whole, on the need for the growth of science-intensive industrial branches at the expense of traditional industries. The advocates of the established model—and there were quite a few of them—turned the discussion into an ideological one: If you condemn this model, it means that you are against socialism.

MN: Let's set the record straight. From the very beginning the main object of criticism was the national model of development. And only at later stages of the crisis in Czechoslovakia did the right-wing forces begin to link the shortcomings of this model to the Soviet Union and to socialism in general.

Krivosheyev: Historical justice demands that we admit that the Czechoslovak economy played a major part in rehabilitating the economy of many socialist countries in the postwar period. I'll also remind you that in the prewar years the country was one of Europe's leaders in terms of industrial output. And the fact that Czechoslovakia abandoned its traditional structure—with a sufficiently developed light industry—was prompted by the need for the economic development of the entire socialist community, first and foremost, by our economic needs. On the other hand, the USSR met 70-80 per cent of Czechoslovakia's requirements for raw materials, fuel, and other supplies and goods.

Krushinskiy: Let me note other factors. Prior to the events of August 1968, the Czechoslovak press actively discussed the violations of socialist legality and the innocent victims of the 1940s and the 1950s. This topic also figured prominently in the discussions of the most varied groups of people. Moreover, whether we like it or not, they couldn't help but speak about us as well. After all, the abuses were linked to Stalinism. On the other hand, the enemies of socialism tried to use the people's legitimate desire to eliminate distortions and bring about a healthier climate in their own interests, which happened to be a far cry from what the people really needed. It is a fact that questions on the rehabilitation of the innocent were not solved for a long time. As a result, an opposition camp, including sincere Communists and outright enemies, started to form. And what is particularly important is that all this provided the opposition with arguments for discrediting the Communist Party and Czechoslovakia's entire socialist development after February 1948.

Didusenko: There is no doubt that reasons for concern existed. After the January 1968 Plenary Meeting of the CPCz Central Committee, which changed the party's leadership, sometime in March right-wing forces gradually started stepping up their activities. An unusual witchhunt—for those who didn't agree with the ideological leaders of the "reformers"—was taking place on an ever wider scale. Incidentally, the manifesto 2,000 Words—an attack on the CPCz committees—was also an historical fact. And the then party leadership's refusal to take part in the Warsaw meeting of the socialist countries in July 1968 triggered a wave of nationalism in Czechoslovakia, whereupon some political leaders in Prague started considering the possibility of a rupture with the socialist community.

Two Aspects of Paternalism [subhead]

MN: Speaking about prehistory, you posed the problem—particularly topical for those times—of paternalism in our relations with Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. That offspring of the Stalinist era—the principle that the "big brother" is always right, wise and far-sighted, and the demand that his example should be followed in everything—had a negative effect on the international communist movement and the people's democracies which sprang up after World War II. How did this manifest itself in Czechoslovakia in the mid-1960s?

Krivosheyev: Paternalism has two sides. Someone imposes a system of relations, and someone else either accepts or rejects it. Czechoslovakia's economic reform of 1965-1968 was aimed at reducing the previous forms of relations to nought. Czechoslovakia's economic mechanism, which the reform tuned to economic principles, compelled the Czechoslovak enterprises to look for more effective economic ties. There were cases when these enterprises, having found themselves operating under new economic conditions, turned down the services of their Soviet partners. Either they were not satisfied with the technological level of the supplied products, the time limits on deliveries were not observed, or the percentage of defective goods was too high. Being free to choose their own partners, Czechoslovak economic managers set their sights on the West. Some people on our side drew the conclusion that this was a sign of anti-Sovietism.

Zhuravskiy: I remember two cases. The first was when 92 rollers for a rolling mill were sent from the USSR to an iron-and-steel plant in Kosice. All of them turned out to be defective. The second was when a new model of the Moskvich car was sent to Prague to recommend it for sale on the Czechoslovak market. One of the front wheels fell off almost right away during the first trial run.

Didusenko: But we are not only talking about defective goods. Economic relations themselves were becoming unprofitable. I remember how at the laboratory instruments factory in Prague I was shown the following calculation: a rouble earned on our market cost the factory 50 percent more in korunas than a dollar earned on the Western market.

Krivosheyev: We should not forget that historically Czechoslovakia treated Russia very kindly. This was due to centuries of German domination. The Czechs have a legend saying that freedom will come to them from the East. And this happened in 1945 when the Czechs and Slovaks enthusiastically met the Red Army.

However, after 1950, when our model of the economy started being mechanically transferred onto Czechoslovak soil, slogans appeared in Czechoslovakia saying: "Soviet Mail Is Our Model". They used to hang everywhere. I saw catchwords about our pencils at the Koh-i-Nor factory. There was, consequently, another side to this paternalism. At various levels in Czechoslovakia itself there were those who, reducing things to absurdity (maybe even intentionally), helped strengthen paternalist relations.

At that time the Czechoslovak public had a rather vague idea about life in the Soviet Union. But then came the 1960s and the frontier was opened. At the period of "Khrushchev's thaw" Czechs and Slovaks began travelling more frequently to the USSR. They saw that we were far from being ideal in everything, that there was actually little "model" about our reality. A dangerous disillusionment set in. And a feeling of what we tended to describe as nationalism began to appear.

Similarity and Difference [subhead]

MN: The Western press often speaks about the outward similarity between the processes which occurred in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and our perestroyka. What is your reply?

Krivosheyev: At the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System run by the USSR Academy of Sciences where I now work, a comparative analysis was made of Czechoslovakia's economic reform of 1965-1968 and our current one. Coincidences can be found in the external aspects of these processes. The explanation is simple: Both reforms are based on the same principle—the transition to full cost accounting with all the consequences arising therefrom. This means a system of effective commodity-money relations, self-financing, self-management, etc.

I would like, however, to note the following: The 1960s in Czechoslovakia saw a planned reform of the economy alone. But the reform immediately encountered resistance from conservative forces at different levels of leadership. It became clear that the economy could not be transformed without a reform of the superstructure, and without radical changes in the socio-political sphere.

We have taken this experience into account. The economic reforms in our country are closely tied to the restructuring of the political system, to the expansion of democracy in production, to glasnost and to the active involvement of the masses in deciding the questions of society's life.

Polyakov: As was the case in our country during the stagnation years, different categories of people in the Czechoslovakia of those years displayed a mounting sense of civic responsibility. Some very interesting films appeared, for instance Milos Forman's "Burn, My Little Doll"—a brilliant film depicting society's degradation.

MN: In 1968, the Czechoslovak press, having gained greater freedom, was unable to use it in the interests of the people"s socialist choice. In the hands of the right-wing forces it became an instrument of disunity and disorientation. Mixing up the goals of national development, hasty appraisals of various phenomena, unrestrained propaganda of one-sided views on the course of events—all of this differed from the aims proclaimed at the January Plenary Meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee. January, when the party itself advocated a policy of renewal, was necessary. No one questions this in the USSR either, for the positive experience of friends could do us a lot of good. But it was necessary not for settling political accounts, but for eliminating mistakes and distortions, for solving the pressing problems of socialist construction and searching for more effective ways of development.

After April 1985, the Soviet press became the support and conduit for the ideas of perestroyka. And although the process has been without its difficulties and failure, the mass media have been more and more active in joining the struggle initiatied by the party to ensure that more democracy means more socialism. This is a fact.

On Truth 'In One Copy' and for Everyone [subhead]

MN: The situation in 1968 unfortunately was fundamentally different. What was it like working in Prague?

Didusenko: Journalists found themselves in a very difficult situation. We saw the situation coming to a head but couldn't publish anything. Leonid Brezhnev arrived in Prague in February 1968. Me and Vasiliy Zhuravskiy went to him: "Leonid Ilich, what shall we do, what shall we write?" And he said: "Write the truth." Then he added: "In one copy." Upon further reflection he added: "for him", and pointed his finger at his aide.

Zhuravskiy: Still, we decided to give Brezhnev the situation as it really was. But we were stopped outside the room where he was resting. We waited an hour and a half, but never were admitted and had to leave without accomplishing anything.

Didusenko: We were awakened in the wee hours of August 21 by the steady drone of airplanes. The day before I heard that same noise coming from aircraft landing to capture the airfield and land commandos. Half-dressed men and women were running out of their houses. Nobody seemed to understand what was going on after all. It was only a few days ago that Brezhnev exchanged bear hugs and kisses with Dubcek in Bratislava. Everyone thought that the problems had been resolved.

Krushinskiy: After the troops were brought in, our press was full of overstatements—intentional and unintentional. The situation was indeed very complex and in many respects unclear. The special correspondents who received instructions from the top were in the most difficult position. Sometimes facts were reported in a way to fit their instructions.

Zhuravskiy: My knowledge of the country helped me avoid the blunders and bias which otherwise were rife in our press. Two of my colleagues, one is now dead, I would prefer not to mention their names, were special correspondents. One was stationed in Prague, the other—in Bratislava. Their reports and stories that were printed in Moscow newspapers that August were reprinted in the Czech and Slovak satirical magazines DIKOBRAZ and ROHAC without any comments, notes or alterations. They instilled anti-Soviet sentiments in Czechs and Slovaks without even trying.

Didusenko: It sounds like a joke, but it's true: We were summoned to the embassy one day and shown a newspaper from one of the allied countries reporting that American tanks were outside Prague. We were asked why we were so slow. Later it was discovered that a film was being shot there about the last days of World War II and that several American, German and Soviet tanks had been rented from an Austrian props firm.

Krushinskiy: A few words about what happened next. The year 1969 was even more dramatic. That summer saw an even greater number of riots with the number of wounded running into more than 1,000. True, our troops had no part in it. This was a period of widespread apathy in the country. Production targets were only met by 40 per cent or so; few people really worked. Here it is appropriate to say a few good things about the country's new leaders headed by Gustav Husak, because it was an uphill task to get society out of that trance.

Lessons [subhead]

MN: What are your conclusions today about events in Czechoslovakia in 1968?

Polyakov: That was the first time the question of the role of the party in society was raised with such urgency. A solution must be found and applied to daily realities: The party should demonstrate its right to be the guiding force of society through practical deeds. There should be no dangerous illusions that the political problems of another nation can be solved by military force. History doesn't forgive false steps.

Lukin: After 1968, the trenchant cliche "the Brezhnev doctrine" began appearing in the Western press. No such "doctrine" existed, of course, in any thought-out and formulated way. Nor can there be a situation in relations between socialist countries where one arrogates the right to decide for the others. This is inadmissible. Respect for this principle is the most reliable guarantee that there will be no repetition of 1968. Those who were involved in those events have drawn the most serious lessons possible from them.

Krivosheyev: One of the most important lessons is contained in the programme for action, formulated thanks to the new political thinking. It's freedom to choose one's own path.

Didusenko: A policy devoid of principles is likely to pay in the short term. But in the long term it is disastrous for everyone, including those who use it. And that goes for the press, as well.

Zhuravskiy: Glasnost is a necessity. People should be informed about everything. In 1968, people in this country judged the actions of their leaders on the strength of the information provided by these leaders. The press is capable of providing the people and leaders with information for analysis and decision making.

Krushinskiy: The course of events that followed proved that the Czechs and the Slovaks remained true to their own choice—the socialist path of development.

Zaykov, Baklanov Visit Leningrad 1-2 Sep

*PM0809080788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Stay in Leningrad"]

[Text] L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, were in Leningrad 1 and 2 September.

At the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Association there was a discussion of questions linked with switching the enterprise to new economic management conditions, increasing output and improving the technical level of "Kirovets" family tractors, accelerating the modernization of this flagship of Soviet machine-building, and improving the collective's working and living conditions.

P.G. Semenenko, general director of the association, said that the managerial apparatus has been cut by almost 20 percent since the Kirov plant was switched to the principles of economic accountability at the start of this year. It is important that intraproduction economic accountability has been introduced at all the enterprise's shops, and each subunit has independently determined its management structure and worker numbers. The association is steadily fulfilling the plan in terms of all technical and economic indicators.

At the same time, the new economic management conditions in which the Kirov collective is operating also require a new level of economic relations with enterprises supplying components and assemblies. In particular, the price formation mechanism for supplied articles has not been regulated. Smooth production has not been ensured through the fault of many associated plants—and over 500 enterprises participate in the creation of "Kirovets" tractors.

It will be necessary to give the enterprise greater independence in using its economic development funds.

As of next year the Kirov plant will switch to the production of the new K-701M tractor, which is not inferior to similar foreign models in terms of its technical characteristics. Demand for these vehicles is very high. This is shown by the following fact: Although tractor production has not been included in state orders for next year, customer orders far exceed the tractor builders' capacity.

During the lunch break a meeting with the Kirov plant workers was held at the main production line. There was a frank and sometimes sharp conversation about how to remove the barriers in the way of restructuring and how to struggle better and more effectively to fulfill the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. The Kirov workers stated that restructuring requires the improvement of discipline, order, and organization in every possible way, as well as intolerance of any kind of antisocial phenomena.

Particular attention was devoted to developing the social sphere, improving food supplies to the enterprise's working people, creating modern equipment for the food and processing industry, and increasing production of consumer goods.

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, took part in the examination of the questions.

L.N. Zaykov, Yu.F. Solovyev, and O.D. Baklanov visited the "Tekhnokhim" State Intersectoral Association.

V.V. Gidaspov, chairman of the State Intersectoral Association Board and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, reported that this progressive structural formation makes it possible to efficiently conduct economic activity by means of greater specialization and production sharing and the establishment of efficient intraeconomic ties, and to substantially increase labor productivity growth rates, output volumes, and profits. The new science and industrial complex has great potential for substantially reducing the time needed for scientific research and the introduction of developments into production.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the questions of organizing material and technical supply and the deepening of scientific research on important national economic problems have not yet been resolved. Many things are still unclear with regard to the financial relationship between the enterprises making up the intersectoral concern and with regard to the organization of foreign economic activity.

Party organizations must persistently struggle to shorten the process of the formation of "Tekhnokhim," actively utilize front-ranking economic management experience, develop the creative initiative of all labor collectives making up the complex, and consistently improve the social and consumer conditions of scientists, workers, and specialists.

I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, and the leaders of a number of ministries and central departments took part in the discussion of the questions.

The CPSU Central Committee secretaries also familiarized themselves with a number of modernized city cultural and consumer projects, including a modernized auditorium for music concerts.

Vladivostok Moving Toward 'Open City' Status

PM0809134188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[G. Alimov report under rubric "New Thinking": "Vladivostok Will Be Open to All"]

[Text] At the end of September an international symposium "On Problems of Asia and the Pacific Region" is to open in Vladivostok for the first time. Foreign observers are drawing attention to the choice of the actual venue for such a representative forum. It is by no means accidental. It is, first, the result of our country's new political initiatives. And, second, the choice of venue is attracting attention for yet another reason. It is known that foreigners' entry into Vladivostok is restricted. The question most frequently asked by foreign guests during meetings at the gorispolkom is: Will the city be open?

This question has already been answered. During his recent meeting in Moscow with Nakasone, the former Japanese prime minister, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said outright that we are thinking of making Vladivostok an open city, K. Dulov, first deputy chairman of the gorispolkom, said. The very fact of holding an international forum here is noteworthy because, apart from all else, it testifies to the seriousness of our intentions to open the city to all.

Incidentally, I must say that the city is not all that closed. Our contacts with foreign partners are constantly developing. In recent years they have become more dynamic. For instance, last year there were 300 different delegations here. For the sake of comparison, there were only 14 in 1965. Last year a Polish and a Japanese exhibition was held in the city. Australian, Chinese, and Italian exhibitions are planned. As you can see, our city is not kept behind locked doors. Naturally, a number of restrictions remain in force at the moment, just like in any other border city. Ways of lifting them are being examined. However, this will take time....

According to information obtained by the editorial office, with time the possibility of the organization of joint enterprises and the opening of a free economic zone in the region are not being ruled out.

Restructuring in Ukrainian Militia Examined

AU0909085488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 4 Sep 88 p 3

[S. Ryabov report: "Will the Militia Major Apologize?"]

[Text] **This was the first time a journalist had been present at a conference in the Political Directorate of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to examine the struggle against the violations of the socialist legality in the internal affairs organs.** [boldface as published]

To start with, let me tell you two facts. Immediately after the explosion at the Chernobyl AES, a special detachment of Kirovograd Oblispolkom's Internal Affairs Administration arrived in the area of the accident. Thirty volunteers were needed to do a particularly dangerous task. At the request of a political officer, all 200 men took three steps forward without hesitation. They took three steps toward the calamity in order to push it three steps back. Recall, dear readers, those disturbing days, and you will immediately be able to appreciate that behavior. The functionaries of the internal affairs organs were the first to stand up in our defense. And this must not be forgotten.

And here is the second fact. Militia Major A.S. Avgust, duty officer at Leninskiy Rayon militia station in Kirovograd, as a speaker at the conference said, detained a man for 2 hours, refusing to accept his statement about the disappearance of an automobile and trying to send him to other sections of the rayispolkom. Moreover, the officer committed similar violations after that.

The conference discussed a report submitted by the Kirovograd Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration on strengthening socialist legality. From the point of view of glasnost and democratization, this issue now ranks among the most important ones, and not only in the Ukraine. For this reason it would be wrong to single out Kirovograd Oblast alone and to pretend that all is well in the other oblasts. The problems that have accumulated are typical.

A team of functionaries of the Political Directorate of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs spent 11 days working in Kirovograd Oblast. The results of the inspection showed that the number of the violations of socialist legality detected among the personnel in the first 6 months of the current year had increased many times compared with the corresponding period of 1987, because now even the slightest offense is assessed very strictly. And this is the only correct way. After all, this is a matter that involves people. Any trivial omission of today may result in a tragedy tomorrow. Alas, in some cases petitioners meet with the groundless refusal to institute criminal proceedings, and there are delays in inquiries and preliminary investigations. Neither have such disgusting phenomena as physical maltreatment [rukoprikladstvo], and unlawful detention and institution of criminal proceedings sunk into oblivion. The most violations of socialist legality are committed by functionaries of the public order service (particularly by divisional inspectors), the criminal investigation service, and organs involved with the struggle against theft of socialist property and against profiteering.

Maybe it was disregard for the spirit and letter of the law—so-called legal nihilism—that was to some extent also conducive to the growing delinquency in the oblast, and to the decline in the rate at which it is detected.

The conference paid a lot of attention to the system of control and to the cadre problem. The ministerial team checked the work done by 15 of the 16 certifying commissions set up within city and rayon internal affairs organs, and found that these commissions frequently did not even examine the violations of socialist legality at the request of procurators or following particular court decisions. The chase after a "favorable" figure compels militia leaders to hush up the offenses of their subordinates. Who would believe, for example, that in the system of corrective labor establishments everything is "up to date," as a paper from the oblast claims? The chief of the Political Directorate for corrective labor establishments under the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, present at the conference, was the first not to believe the paper (and he proved the opposite).

Journalists are frequently present at sessions or conferences that tackle important present day problems, but, to be honest, I have not heard any discussion as sharp and principled as this one.

After the conference, Militia Major General A.I. Borovik, chief of the Political Directorate in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, gave a PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent an interview.

[Question] Aleksandr Ilich, is there anything you would like to add to the discussion at this conference?

[A.I. Borovik] As far as the number of criminal violations of socialist legality is concerned, the year 1988 can hardly be compared with 1985 or 1986, or even with 1987. Compared with the first half of 1987, the number of functionaries brought to criminal account this year was 50 percent smaller. As you have noticed, at this conference we did not emphasize our positive achievements.

The processes of democratization and glasnost have forced us to take a close look at the real situation in the internal affairs organs as a whole. We have taken note of infringements which were not regarded as such even yesterday.

These problems have not arisen overnight; they have been in the making for many years, and very many of our functionaries have grown up on legal nihilism. To some extent it is easier to overcome a phenomenon as shameful as bribery in the militia than to effect a universal legal education, to cultivate the feeling of the need to comply with the law, say, among functionaries on patrol or guard duty (and this applies to thousands of people), and on road patrols. At one stage or another, some of them thought that they were not there to serve the people, but the other way around. It is essential to educate divisional inspectors, the young generation of operatives that have come after the purges, which were sometimes hasty and unfounded, and which seriously harmed primarily the cadres of criminal investigation.

[Question] The conference raised in particular the question of cadre selection and distribution.

[A.I. Borovik] Whom we select and who is recommended to the militia—these are important questions. After all, the militia respresents a cross section of society. Those sent to us are supposed to be advanced production workers and they prove to be rotten. Is it our fault? Yes, it is. But the blame should also be shared by party organizations, the Komsomol, administration, and to some extent society as a whole.

[Question] Unfortunately, even among us journalists there is a trend to separate the militia from society or even occasionally to pit it against society. After all, legal nihilism is inherent in us all.

[A.I. Borovik] For us, unity between the people and the militia is the most important thing. Many problems would disappear if the working people were better aware of the militia's activity. First of all, legal training should now become universal. But also the militia should now mix more boldly with people. Wherever the militia loses touch with people, it is doomed to isolation. It is also highly important to monitor the militia's activity and this should also be done by the mass media.

[Question] The militia is sometimes reluctant to seek contacts with people.

[A.I. Borovik] Many functionaries are adequately trained professionally and juridically, but unfortunately are not always up to the mark as regards general cultural behavior and the ability to mix with people. They are insufficiently trained in psychology and pedagogy. Is 4 months of training enough for a sergeant going to the patrol and guard service?

There is one more thing. When we succeed in our efforts to man all leading posts with people who are not simply competent juridically, but also stand firmly on the grounds of the rule of law, the problem will for the most part be settled, because a chief who respects the socialist rule of law will neither be involved violating it himself, nor will he permit violations on the part of the personnel. Alas, not all have at present met these requirements, and this applies primarily to functionaries at the rayon and city level.

[Question] The last question is about the role of procurators in the observance of the rule of law.

[A.I. Borovik] The law provides for the activity of internal affairs organs to be under the control of procurators, and the importance and necessity of this can hardly be overestimated. The militia has a lot of authority, and not all functionaries are able to exercise it with sufficient caution and competence. The militia does not need any special privileges. What matters most is that the procurator's control not be periodical, but systematic, constructive, and objective.

Writer Assails Moves Against Moldavian Culture

PM0709134788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by N. Romanenko, member of the USSR Writers' Union under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Expose Them and Punish Them! Even Words Like These Are Being Spoken in Moldavia Today and Are Intended for the Ears of...Writers"]

[Text] The attempt by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA to draw attention to negative phenomena in the spiritual life of Moldavia deserves ardent support. This was the subject of a letter from students at Kishinev Pedagogical Institute and an ensuing commentary by journalist A. Khantsevich (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 20 April 1988).

The processes taking place in the republic demand detailed analysis. After all, it is quite clear that the present situation has been created by the administrative-edict methods of leadership which have prevailed here for decades—including in ideological and cultural life.

The factors determining the low level of competency in the leadership of ideology and culture in Moldavia are directly linked to the consequences of the repressions in 1937-1938. It was precisely then that the leading cadres of the Moldavian ASSR were bled white and, in the climate of a bitter administrative battle against "bourgeois" and "nationalist" influences, that the ban on national classical literature, the heritage of 19th century Moldavian writers, and the literary language they had created came into force—a ban which lasted until the beginning of the fifties.

The Moldavian SSR was formed in the summer of 1940, incorporating what used to be Bessarabia. We Bessarabian underground Communists had naturally expected unification with the autonomous republic's party organization. But this did not happen. The Bessarabian Communist organization was disbanded, its members classed as "originating from other parties," and their acceptance into the ranks of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks made more difficult.

There seemed to be a glimmer of hope during the war years. For example, without being counted a member of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, I was nevertheless called up for service in the Main Political Directorate of the Workers and Peasants Red Army. I remember how D. Manuilskiy, head of the political directorate, assured former underground Bessarabians that the party trusted them completely. He was confident that our position would move toward the norm sooner or later. But even after the war it was still the same, of which I became convinced when I returned to Kishinev in autumn 1948 after being demobilized.

In that year the leaders of the Moldavian writers' organization, together with N. Koval, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, decided to purge its ranks, directing the main thrust against Bessarabian writers who were not party members. The most talented came under fire. On 25 September 1948 the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA carried an article under the headline: "Totally Eradicate Bourgeois Nationalism in the Creative Work of Moldavian Writers." The authors of the article, I. Kanna and I. Cheban, claimed in particular that the poetry and journalism of B. Istru "glorifies the bourgeois system" and that his play "The First Brigade" [Pervaya brigada] contained "monstrous slander against the Soviet Army." Yem. Bukov was declared to be an "advocate of bourgeois nationalism."

This sweeping negation of their classical cultural heritage could not fail to cause a commotion among the intelligentsia. The situation was becoming critical. Basically, not only the fate of the cultural past was being decided, but also the fate of the cultural present and future.

This time it was the USSR Academy of Sciences that came to the defense of Moldavian cultural tradition—through the branch of the academy established in the republic in those years. Questions that had been hopelessly confused by vulgar local sociologists holding leading posts had to be fundamentally reviewed with the aid of specialists in Romance languages and Romance philology. The matter was decided by a special scientific session held in Kishinev on 3-4 December 1951.

Academician V. Shishmarev and a specialist in Romance linguistics, D. Mikhalchi, approached the problems with a sense of scientific responsibility. The theses they proposed formed the basis of the resolution. They said, in particular: "Review the question of literary language and literary heritage. Consider it appropriate to use the experience of those 19th century writers who can and must be regarded as writers belonging equally to socialist Moldavia and people's democratic Romania. Consider the benefit of broadly popularizing M. Sadovyanu."

But even in the mid-fifties this kind of attitude to the classics was regarded with some reservations. In 1959 the journal KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII carried an article entitled "On the Question of Correctly Elucidating the History of Sociopolitical Thought in Moldavia." Its authors, A. Babiy, D. Dragnev, and P. Sovetov proposed such a primitive "class analysis" of the work of 19th century writers that they completely distorted their real creative and philosophical views.

The journal DNESTR noted the unconvincing nature of the article by the three authors. Then the chief editor of DNESTR, the poet Dzh. Menyuk, was summoned to the Central Committee Bureau, dismissed from his work with the journal, and issued with a severe party reprimand.

In a discussion in 1962 in the journal VOPROSY LITERATURY, the poet Andrey Lupan pointed out: "In view of our bitter experience, let us say that we should not push young scholars—be they literary critics, historians, or philosophers—from the path of honest labor onto the slippery slope of 'agents' responsible for carrying out all manner of 'hatchet jobs.'" The same thing was said in an article by Ion Drutse.

But the results of this discussion had no impact on the views of the republic's leaders. At a Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum I. Bodyul spoke in defense of the views expressed in the article by A. Babiy, D. Dragnev, and P. Sovetov. As was to be expected, the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Department took this speech as instruction for action....

The critical campaign against the most talented representatives of the contemporary creative intelligentsia lasted several decades, virtually uninterrupted and never losing its intensity. This campaign was inspired and led by Ye. Postovoy, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee for agitation and propaganda, and his successor, I. Bodyul, who then became first secretary of the Central Committee.

Both in our country and abroad, the work of Ion Drutse has long been deservedly highly appraised. It is hard to believe that even quite recently his works reached the reader in his native republic with enormous difficulty. The works of Drutse have been published and republished everywhere, and they have been discussed in the central press. But in Moldavia they have been hushed up or strongly condemned. The novel "Time of Our Kindness" [Vremya nashey dobroty] has come in for particularly bitter criticism. Echoes of this criticism were heard quite recently, in 1986, in the encyclopaedia "Literature and Art" [Literatura i iskusstvo], which said that in this novel the reader encounters "invalid criticism of the new reality of the contemporary Moldavian village."

It is worrying that even now the republic's press continues to maintain a stubborn silence on all the abovementioned problems. In their letter to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA the Kishinev students express understandable bewilderment over the appearance of articles in the local press by historians M. Sytnik, D. Shemyakov, and V. Isak, who are trying to present the matter as if even the crude tyranny of the past should be considered a natural law of history.

In the Kishinev Museum of Party History visitors are still presented with exactly the same picture of history as they were during the years of stagnation. The guides continue to tell their charges that the rapid flourishing of the Moldavian ASSR began in 1937-1938. One involuntarily asks the question: What compels Moldavian historians and publicists to conceal the truth with such tenacity?

RSFSR Presidium Views Environmental Issues

PM0509152788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At a scheduled session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium questions of improving the ecological situation in a number of the republic's regions were examined.

A report by Khabarovsk Krayispolkom on the work of the kray soviets and economic organs to fulfill environmental conservation measures was heard. In 1981-1987 capital investments in this sphere exceeded R160 million. Nonetheless, as noted at the session, the ecological situation in the kray has not improved fundamentally. There has been practically no decrease in the pollution of reservoirs with sewage, and in a number of places it has actually increased, and the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere has increased. Intensified pollution of the Amur and its tributaries gives particular cause for concern.

The session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium stressed the need for that the kray's soviet organs be more exacting toward the enterprises, organizations, and departments that are responsible for the comprehensive implementation of the economic and environmental conservation tasks in the region. The republic's government made serious claims against the union ministries responsible for the ecological situation that has taken shape.

The ecological situation in the city of Cherepovets, which has given rise in recent years to numerous complaints, was also examined at the Presidium session. Some 60 percent of the city's population today lives in a zone adversely affected by industry, and it is essential to resettle almost 19,000 residents just in the very near future. Enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers are causing considerable harm to reservoirs by annually dispatching into them more than 60 million cubic meters of raw sewage. It was stressed that the situation that has emerged requires vigorous action.

Mention was made in this connection of a special program to improve the ecological situation in the city, which stipulates a number of major measures, including the closure of certain production facilities. Attention was drawn to the fact that the main culprit of the pollution—the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy—has approached the formulation of the program irresponsibly and has attempted to amend a number of its most important provisions.

Local Party Secretaries Discuss Ideological Work

PM0809125388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Practical Tasks Examined"]

[Text] Ulyanovsk, 6 Sep—In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee decision of 13 August 1988 "On the Work of Ulyanovsk Oblast Party Organs in Fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On Restructuring the System of Working People's Political and Economic Studies'" a conference of secretaries of union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms was held in the city of Ulyanovsk 5-6 September on the question "The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and Ideological Work Tasks." P.Ya. Slezko, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, delivered the report on this topic.

Practical questions of implementing the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions were examined at the conference, and ways to raise the scientific standard of propaganda and problems of Communists' mastering the ideology of renewal, of arming them with knowledge and skills for work among the masses, and of ensuring their vanguard role in implementing the economic and political reforms and resolving all tasks of restructuring were discussed.

Yu.G. Samsonov, first secretary of Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom, spoke about the work of the oblast's party committees in restructuring working people's political and economic studies. The reports "Urgent Questions of the Development of Inter-Ethnic Relations in the USSR" and "Problems of CPSU Cultural Policy at the Contemporary Stage," delivered by V.A. Mikhaylov and V.K. Yegorov, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments, were heard. "The Social Sciences on the Paths of Restructuring" was the subject of the speech by R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The conference participants familiarized themselves with the organization of Marxist-Leninist education and of mass political and cultural educational work among the city's working people and with the activity of the Lenin memorial complex and visited historical sites associated with the life of the Ulyanov family.

At the conference there was an exchange of experience in questions of party leadership of ideological educational work, the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, international education, and mass agitation work in amateur associations and at places of residence and in other urgent problems of working people's communist education.

Cultural Foundation To Publish Journal

PM0509150188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 20 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by I. Smirnova: "Meeting Held: First Issue of Journal NASHE NASLEDIYE Published"]

[Text] Long-suffering subscribers will at last be rewarded for their patience: The first issue of the Soviet Cultural Foundation's journal NASHE NASLEDIYE will arrive at the Main Administration for the Distribution of Publications at the end of August. My first impression of the magazine was its high print and artistic standard.

"Is the credit due to the Maxwell Communications Corporation, which prints the magazine in Britain?"—I asked V. Yenisherlov, the magazine's chief editor.

"Credit is primarily due to the corporation for having helped bring the work of our artists, A. Ryumin and A. Bykov, to our readers without distortion. Although it has to be admitted that our British colleagues forced us to do a bit extra—a high standard of printing has to be met.

"But the main thing is that we would like to meet our readers' spiritual needs. We see our task as conducting a dialogue with the past for the sake of the future in order to study the significance of the cultural legacy in the modern world and seek to enhance its influence and role in the renewal of our society and the struggle for restructuring."

The first issue opens with an article by Academician D. Likhachev, chairman of the Soviet Cultural Foundation Board. He discusses the problems facing the foundation and our national culture as a whole. The journalist Bessie Beatty was in Petrograd in October 1917 along with John Reed and Albert R. Williams. The magazine presents readers with extracts from Bessie Beatty's book "The Red Heart of Russia," which is little known in our country. The "Patriotic Thought" rubric publishes archive material and letters of the outstanding Russian thinker P. Chaadayev.

A previously unpublished poem by Marina Tsvetayeva entitled "Not a fighter in two camps..." is printed from the original kept in the USSR Central State Archive for Literature and Art. The major Russian scientist, philosopher, mathematician, engineer, writer, and art critic Pavel Aleksandrovich Florenskiy (1882-1943) is one of the "forgotten" names in our culture. The first issue of NASHE NASLEDIYE discusses him under the "Biography" rubric.

Readers will be able to find in the journal pages from the "Africa Diary" kept by Nikolay Gumilev and chapters from the first monograph by V. Klyuchevskiy, "Foreigners' Tales About the State of Moscow."

However, if you want a full idea of the journal you have to read it. Incidentally, what real chance has one of getting NASHE NASLEDIYE?

"Unfortunately, subscription to the journal is limited," Vladimir Petrovich Yenisherlov said. "Those who have subscribed for 1988 will receive—we will be making every effort—six issues in all. In 1989 our readers will be able to read articles on topical problems of modern life by the writers A. Adamovich, V. Bykov, I. Vasilyev, D. Granin, Yu. Karyakin, and V. Rasputin; the composers V. Gavrilin, V. Sviridov, and A. Shnitke; directors S. Paradzhanov and G. Tovstonogov; and scientists Ye. Velikhov, T. Zaslavskaya, and D. Likhachev.

The "Literature, History, and Philosophy" section will print unpublished or little-known works by B. Odoyevskiy, Vl. Khodasevich, M. Voloshin, Ye. Zamyatin, M. Osorgin, Yu. Verkhovskiy, Vyach. Ivanov, and Z. Gippius, essays by N. Berdyayev, and archive documents and testimony by participants in the October revolution, the Civil War, and events in Soviet history.

Briefs

Kazakh Grain Minister

By decree of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Orazbek Sultanovich Kuanyshev has been appointed minister of grain products of the Kazakh SSR. [Text] [*LD0809070888 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 6 Sep 88*]

Scientist Receives Award

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has awarded Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kotelnikov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Order of the Red Banner of Labor for his services to the development of Soviet science and to the training of scientific cadres. [Text] [*LD0609030088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Sep 88*]

Yiddish Courses in Moldavia

Free Yiddish-language courses have opened in Kishinev, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Moldavia. The second-largest Moldavian city, Tiraspol, is opening Yiddish courses later this month. They'll be run by Prof (Shimon Sandler), author of several Yiddish-language manuals published in this country. His new manual for those who want to study Yiddish on their own will come out early next year. [Text] [*LD0609022788 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 5 Sep 88*]

Scientific

U.S. Assistance Offer on 'Soyuz' Praised

LD0809222888 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] The safe return of the "Soyuz TM-5" spacecraft on Wednesday, after a 24-hour delay in orbit, has caused worldwide comment. Some of this comment has tended to overdramatize the situation, as Boris Belitskiy explains in his "Vantage Point":

[Belitskiy] An unidentified American space expert has been quoted by several news agencies as having said that the crew of the "Soyuz TM-5" was within seconds of death. And the British expert Phillip Clarke, speaking on the World Service of the BBC, likewise expressed the view that the prospect of a tragedy loomed very large, although he conceded that the Soviet manned space program had a very good safety record: no fatal accidents since 1971.

Such statements tend to overdramatize the situation that arose this week, when the spacecraft's initial descent attempts had to be aborted, whether because of a faulty infrared sensor or a computer malfunction. For one thing, statements of this kind completely overlook the fact that the Soyuz commander, Vladimir Lyakhov, could always fall back on the manual descent system in the event of a total failure of the automatic system. Manual landings have been carried out by Soviet cosmonauts in the past. And even if "Soyuz TM-5" had failed to land in the designated area of Kazakhstan, or worse still had come down in the Pacific Ocean, there are emergency plans for dealing with such a situation, too; and all Soviet cosmonauts receive the proper training for such contingencies.

In fact, back in 1976, two cosmonauts, Zudov and Rozhdestvenskiy, did splash down in a lake, 5 kilometers from the shore. Within 4 hours they were rescued by a naval helicopter, although one of the navy men did have to be hospitalized because of exposure after working for several hours in the ice-cold water.

In general, one of the lesser known aspects of all Soviet manned flights is the naval support they receive during launch. For example, when the latest crew, Lyakhov and the Afghan cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad, were launched on 29 August, the navy search and rescue service, as always on such occasions, deployed vessels and aircraft along the oceanic segment of the craft's flight path. All merchant and fishing vessels in the area were also alerted to be ready to take part in a search and rescue operation, if necessary. Search and rescue facilities are also deployed during docking and during reentry into the atmosphere just in case.

So you see, contingency planning covers various types of emergencies during Soviet manned space flights. Nevertheless, I'm sure the Soviet space authorities highly appreciated the offer of help that came on Tuesday from the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The offer included the use of American space tracking and communications facilities to help maintain contact with the "Soyuz TM-5" spacecraft. Although the Soviet space authorities declined the offered help, pointing out that the problem was not critical enough to require it, I've no doubt the fact that such an offer was made was felt to be in the finest traditions of dealing with emergencies at sea, in the air, and in space.

And speaking of such cooperation, let me just add that according to the latest count, 1,131 lives have now been saved by a satellite-based search and rescue system operated jointly by the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada, and France: 589 of these people had been survivors of aircraft accidents; 495 had been shipwrecked; and the rest had been overland travelers. Their prompt rescue was made possible by the operation of Soviet and American earth satellites designed to pinpoint the position of such accident victims and relay its coordinates to ground-based rescue facilities—an example of the type of cooperation we'd like to see keynoting all space activities.

'Soyuz' Cosmonauts Hold News Conference

LD0809231788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] A news conference took place today for Soviet and foreign journalists at the Baykonur space center on the results of the Soviet-Afghan space flight. Here is a report by our special correspondant, Leonid Lazarevich:

[Lazarevich] It was decided not to hold this news conference in the Hotel Cosmonaut, as is usual, but in the center itself. Many journalists have gathered here. The last day of the flight was very difficult, and the journalists have many questions. Now here comes Pavel Romanovich Popovich, the deputy chief of the cosmonaut training center; he is going to chair the news conference. Here are the principal and alternate cosmonaut teams; the latter were always at the side of the principal team, and they will be by them at the news conference, too.

How do you evaluate the situation that occurred before the landing?

[Lyakhov] After our first attempt to start the landing procedure, everything went as scheduled. The descent program was engaged. Nothing gave us any indication that something was wrong, but 30 seconds before the engine was to be switched on, the infrared vertical sensor did not respond: that is, the horizon orientation sensor, which should have shown that orientation was correct, and of course the engine did not switch itself on. Nothing terrible happened. It is possible to manage without the vertical sensor. Therefore I reported to mission control.

The decision was made to bypass the faulty vertical sensor and proceed with the landing. Everything was done. The program was put forward and, following the orbit, at the third descent opportunity we went ahead with the descent. At the set time the engine switched itself on. Instead of breaking to a velocity of 115 meters per second, the engine braked the capsule to a velocity of 3 meters per second and switched itself off. Again, this did not mean that something terrible was going to happen, especially as we had, in this maneuver, checked that the engine was working.

We worked out what the problem was, and everything became clear to us. The descent would be possible: We were certain of this, and mission control was certain of this at the space center. It would be possible to land at the standby test range. There are plenty of standby sites in the world, enough for us to have been able to land at any of them on the next orbit. However, the decision was made to land at the scheduled landing site. To land there we would have to land 24 hours later. By mutual agreement it was decided to land 24 hours later. But as we were in the detachable living quarters and we were left in the descent vehicle with all the equipment, the most difficult aspect of it all was to live in this confined space for a period of 24 hours, in a seat, in spacesuits.

[Lazarevich] As they say, a test of a spacesuit in perfect conditions.

[Lyakhov] Perfect conditions. Of course it was suggested from earth that we take off the spacesuits, but to do that we would have had to expend a lot of energy. We could have taken off the spacesuits, but if we had done that there would have been even less space because the spacesuits themselves take up space. Besides, it was cold. In the descent vehicle we had to maintain 7 degrees Centigrade. If it had been higher, then we would have had condensation. For that reason we tried not to allow any humidity. The temperature we had in the capsule was 7 degrees. It was a little bit cold. So we decided not to take off our spacesuits. If it became hot we switched on the ventilators and in that way regulated the temperature by switching the ventilators on and off. Of course it is very difficult to be in such a situation for 24 hours in spacesuits, but the situation was being constantly monitored. Mission control also monitored it; we had perfect contact with the ground on all orbits.

We were certain that everything would go according to schedule after those 24 hours at the first opportunity to make a landing. That is how it turned out. At the scheduled time the motor switched itself on. We were on automatic the whole time; that is, we did not bypass anything. The engine worked as scheduled. The descent from then on was performed as scheduled: Entry into the dense layer of the atmosphere, the parachutes opening at the correct time; everything functioned correctly on schedule right up to the soft landing motors. The difficulty was that we had to spend those 24 hours in such a confined space. There was water, but it was in the emergency supplies. We did not open these supplies and did not eat the food that was in these supplies because—just in case—we left it for the landing. There have been times when landings have been made in the taiga. After all, it is an emergency supply. Therefore we did not touch the emergency supply; that is, neither the water nor the food. We kept it all. (?The press) wrote, and indeed it was true, that we did not have a (?sanitary) device, but we cunningly exercised our imaginations and used whatever came to hand. We managed to carry out our bodily functions even in conditions of weightlessness. Everything worked out all right.

[Lazarevich] Volodya, as Tolya said, is it a professional secret how this is done?

[Lyakhov] I do not think there is any professional secret in that. I think anyone could work out how we managed that for oneself.

[Lazarevich] Everything was done as it should be.

[Lyakhov] Everything was done properly. The landing was soft, of course with a healthy bump. Everything went according to schedule. The program was completed, and the landing was in the specified region. I would like to say that the overshoot integral was 22, almost perfect accuracy, and five minutes after the landing they opened the hatch for us. In other words, we landed, and as we landed the helicopter landed too, so we waited only for the time that it took them to run over from the helicopter to the descent module. This is all the time we spent in the descent module on the ground. Immediately, I climbed out, then Ahad. You all saw that already on television. So there was nothing special about the landing.

[Lazerevich] I would like to ask: What specific feelings did the cosmonauts have? What did you make of all this? How did you feel?

[Ahad] We went through all this quite calmly, even after the second attempt, which did not work. At this time we were in contact with mission control and we asked them to give us some music. At that time they had no music and so they did not. Everything went fine. I understood everything, and I was not afraid at all.

[Lyakhov] As to who was at fault, who was right, earth or the cosmonauts, I think we will still have to work that out, analyze the subtleties of the situation. There will be a careful study, and we will simply not draw quick conclusions. I think it will be an analysis done by the whole collective together with the mission control center, with the cosmonauts.

I think everything will then fall into place there. I would like to say that false steps were also taken by the commander: I mean there was a mistake. When the engine cut itself off for the second time I felt very much like starting to descend, and I restarted it. Naturally, I was conscious of the fact that the restart might not be without consequence, but the situation spelled that out....

[Lazarevich, interrupting] You did want to land?

[Lyakhov] Yes, I did want to land, but at the moment there was a general shutdown command because of a failure in the stabilizing mode, which meant that that option would not work anymore, as I thought. That was indeed my mistake, and I admit it; but there was very little time then—merely seconds—to make the decision. I was aware of it, of course, but I also wanted to land very much, and it was already the second attempt, after all. That is why I am not trying to justify myself here. I am to blame too, but we will...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Volodya, Volodya, do not be so...

[Lyakhov, interrupting] No, no, we will find out more about it in the future—that is, in more detail. We will find out everything, who was right and who was wrong at each particular stage. But I am sure about one thing: Such situations will not be repeated in the future. I know that for certain because these situations will be worked out in simulations, and not just once at that.

[Unidentified speaker] If there are a thousand situations for something to go wrong which have been looked into and accounted for, there is always the one thousand and first situation that occurs, because no one can foresee what might happen. But the men acted magnificently, both mission control and those aboard.

[Lazarevich] So, the decision was the right one?

[Unidentified speaker] Yes.

[Unidentified speaker] I would like to add a couple of words. Volodya spoke here much about his own actions and the actions of mission control. But to make it clear to you: By his timely actions, he prevented very serious trouble that might have happened in orbit, this despite the fact that mission control was lingering with the answer to his request. They needed time to analyze the situation and could not react as quickly as was necessary. Volodya shut the program down and thus averted—well, let us not speak of it at this stage—but possibly very serious trouble in which the crew might have found itself in orbit. So you can see that he acted as a commander who is responsible for the safety of his crew and the fulfillment of the mission should act.

[Lazarevich] Mr Mohmand Ahad, I would like to congratulate you on the award of the lofty name of Hero of the Soviet Union that has been conferred on you.

[Ahad] You are aware of the fact, comrades, that the 10th anniversary of the signing of the friendship treaty between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union is now being observed, and this friendship is getting much stronger every day. Now the frontiers of friendship between our people and countries have already left the confines of the globe and reached outer space. This has indeed opened a new chapter in the history of friendship between our peoples. I am very grateful to he people of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, and the Government of the Soviet Union for offering us this opportunity. The mission has been accomplished. I was proud to be given the job. We have not been in the best possible conditions, I mean it was difficult up there, but I was still proud to be entrusted with that task.

[Lazarevich] You kept saying that you spent that day in a very confined space. But our listeners, unfortunately, have no idea of just how confined it was. It would be good if you could be more specific about that.

[Lyakhov] The volume of the descent module is just 3 cubic meters, and there are three chairs for three cosmonauts. But in our module the chair on the right was occupied by a container of material which we were transporting back from orbit. These were materials about the work of the main mission of Titov and Manarov, our materials, as well as some instruments and components that have completed their service lives. That made the space inside even more cramped.

The difficulty also lay in the fact that we were sitting in the position which we take when (?the capsule) get out [as heard] or descends. You understand what kind of position that is. It is there that the difficulty lay. When your legs go to sleep, and when it is not comfortable to assume any other position. You would be pressed hard against something, for the bed is shaped exactly like your body, and when you turn to lie on your side it is not comfortable anymore, and you feel immediately that it is not the right position. That is why we just had to lie in that chair in such a position for as long as 24 hours, practically without moving. There are no crew quarters. I think that (?in the future) the crew quarters will probably separate only after the engine has functioned fully, so that should the engine fail to start, as happened to us, we could...

[Lazarevich, interrupting] (?Like in) the good old times.

[Lyakhov] Right, like it used to be in the good old times, when the crew quarters separated after the engine had functioned to its full. Then it would be possible to go to the crew quarters, which had more than 4 cubic meters of additional space. You could straighten up, you could sleep there—like we did on our way to the station—you could take the spacesuits off, lie down in comfort—there are also sleeping bags for resting in comfort, and...[pauses] that is, when we go for docking, it takes us 2 days, from take-off to docking. We feel at ease, we go to the crew quarters and take off the spacesuits. We can well manage to cook breakfast, dinner, and supper for ourselves there, to rest well—there are sleeping bags, a cupboard, a sofa—real comforts. It is precisely those comforts that we were deprived of because we had jettisoned the crew quarters before the engine started braking.

[Lazarevich] The bulk of attention was concentrated on that last day. All of us were really worried, and that was quite natural. But it would be good if you could tell us what you have brought in that container, what research materials you have delivered.

[Lyakhov] All the Shamshat program materials. I would like to report to you that the Shamshat program was completed. The survey of the Afghan territory was conducted with the help of a KT-140 camera. Four times we flew over it, on four circuits. The medical program was completed, as well as another stage of the Shipka program, the international program. We have delivered materials of the work of the main mission of Titov and Manarov over the period that elapsed between the visit of the Bulgarian mission till our mission. We have delivered all video and photographic films taken over that period, diskettes for all the scientific experiments that had been staged—medical, physical, astrophysical, biological. The biological experiments were very interesting; we had live fishes swimming—that was also a good experiment. So, there were cargoes like that.

Shuttle Undergoing Final Prelaunch Tests

LD0909031888 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] We have a question today from George Nikolayev in Rexdale, Ontario, Canada. I heard that the Soviets built a space shuttle, he writes. Since then I've not heard anything. Well I'll ask our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy to confirm that such a shuttle has been built.

[Belitskiy] Yes, Mr Nikolayev, it has. A Soviet reusable spacecraft of the shuttle type is at this moment undergoing final prelaunch tests in preparation for its maiden flight. The craft is to be carried into orbit by the powerful new booster rocket Energiya, test launched in May last year. With a view to cosmonauts' safety, the maiden flight of the Soviet shuttle will be unmanned. It can land in both the manual and the automatic mode. The new spacecraft is expected to add considerably to the Soviet Union's capability in space exploration.

By the way it differs quite substantially from the American shuttle, especially in the fact that the Soviet booster rocket, unlike the American one, is quite independent and can be used for other payloads as well.

Research Director on International Space Project

LD0809213488 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—The aim of the international outer space project "Spectrum-Roentgen-Gamma" is to get a better insight into the structure and evolution of the universe, to obtain fresh data about the far-away galaxies and its other objects. Detailed information about it was presented to newsmen at a press conference at the Moscow based Space Research Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. As corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Rashid Syunyaev, research director of the project, said, an orbital astrophysical observatory "Spectrum-Roentgen-Gamma" is scheduled to be launched late in 1992-early 1993. A specially designed complex of instruments (with a total weight of nearly 2.5 tonnes) is designed for the selection of information about the galaxy sources of x-ray and gamma-ray radiation. These types of radiation cannot be studied from the earth, since they are absorbed by the upper layers of the atmosphere. Researchers and designers from Australia, Bulgaria, Britain, Hungary, the GDR, Denmark, Italy, the USA, Poland, Finland, France, the FRG, Czechoslovakia and the European Space Agency are planning to participate in designing instruments, preparing a research programme for the project in cooperation with Soviet specialists.

PRC, U.S. Geologists To Work in Amur Oblast

OW0709122688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program; V. Kovalchuk report from Blagoveshchensk in the "News From Our Cities" segment]

[Text] Good morning. In one of the "120 Minutes" programs we promised to report on the results of the work of the international symposium that has concluded in Blagoveshchensk. The international meeting of scientists was devoted to a discussion of problems relating to further studies of the underwater structure of the Pacific Ocean and its continental borders.

First of all I would like to say a few words about why Blagoveshchensk was chosen as the site of this forum. There is a certain appropriateness in this. Amur Oblast, which borders the Pacific Ocean, is one of the least studied territories in our country's eastern sector. It ought to be noted, however, that this deficiency has been compensated for, to a significant degree, by the staff of the Amur Complex Scientific Research Institute created recently in Blagoveshchensk, which took a most active part in organizing and holding the symposium.

Here is one example: Most enterprises that are planned for construction in Amur Oblast as part of the program for development of the Far East up to the year 2000, will in some way be involved in the development of mineral resources and their rational use both in industry and agriculture. I think this fact also attests to the enormous role that science can play in enhancing the country's economy. [Video cuts to show Kovalchuk interviewing A.A. Konyushok, deputy director for science of the Amur Complex Scientific Research Institute of the Far Eastern Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Konyushok] The main feature of the symposium was the large number of businesslike meetings and discussions that occurred between participants in the symposium and representatives of various countries. The most specific ties were established between countries sharing common borders. These countries concluded agreements on carrying out joint geological research on adjacent territories. As a result, we have the establishment of a Soviet-Chinese expedition—in fact its revival—and many new contacts with scientists of other countries.

For example, the geological excursion that was held after the symposium in the region of the lesser BAM [Baykal Amur Mainline railroad] was in fact the first joint geological effort or expedition which, starting next year, will become a regular event for scientists from the PRC and the U.S. Geological Survey in Alaska. The enlistment of specialists from other countries and their equipment will provide a qualitatively new impetus to the development of geological sciences in the Far East.